

SOCIOLOGY AND SOCIAL RESEARCH

May - June, 1937

POPULATION MOBILITY AND ECONOMIC RECOVERY

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PRODUCTIVE techniques, sources of raw materials, transportation systems, and human wants are constantly changing. As a result, the productive organization of society is ever shifting and the opportunities for employment are varying not only between different geographic areas but also between different occupations and industries. Hence, a prerequisite to the smooth operation of a dynamic economic system is the relatively great mobility of the population, i.e., the labor supply. Any influence which retards this mobility is a force leading to unemployment or to the curtailment of the productive output of the society.

Migration and economic readjustment. Ordinarily the movements of population which tend to achieve balance between the number of people and the extent of opportunities take place gradually and without great fanfare. People migrate from areas of restricted opportunity to areas of greater promise. The immigration of Europeans to the United States, the westward movement in this country, and, during recent decades, the migration of rural folk to the cities illustrate the process. The ultimate result is a tendency toward equalizing the extent of employment opportunities and the rates of wages in all lines of work throughout the country.

However, the flow of population is not frictionless. The movements of people from place to place and from job to job, though of great importance, have never been able even to achieve a nation-wide equalization of employment opportunities and of wages. Sentiment, poverty, lack of knowledge, indecision, race barriers, and other restraints counteract the incentives which would lead people to seek new homes, new jobs, or new occupations. Thus, maladjustments often occur between the distribution of the population and the location of economic opportunities. This lack of balance becomes especially evident in areas where natural resources are being rapidly depleted, and where, consequently, adequate population adjustment requires the movement of many workers and their families. As the resources (forests, minerals, soil fertility, et cetera) are annually depleted, employment opportunities diminish, and migration becomes necessary. However, individuals who are no longer able to find employment may remain in such areas for several years, hoping that "things will pick up" and that they will be re-employed in their old jobs. But eventually, as the hope of re-employment fades, they are finally impelled to move elsewhere. Because migration is tardy, an excess of unemployed individuals may be found in most areas of declining resources.

Likewise, any area or town which is dependent on a small number of factories or industries may be subject to a decline in employment opportunities as a result of changes in productive techniques, sources of raw materials, consumer habits, or competitive conditions. Emigration of workers from such an area constitutes one means by which the economic system may become readjusted.

The recent depression has influenced migration in other ways. First, a large "stranded" population has come into existence, consisting of those individuals, located in areas

where there is little hope of finding employment even after the return of prosperity, who do not have the means, incentive, initiative, or the knowledge necessary for migration. Second, there has been a noticeable tendency for the city-ward migration of recent decades to be reversed. Thousands of relatively new arrivals in the cities have been induced by their economic weakness in the urban centers to return to the small-town or country homes of parents and relatives. The city-ward migration of the predepression years originated in the poorest agricultural and industrial areas; people were leaving these areas in order to avoid unemployment or low wages, and to seek greater opportunity. But when the depression came, many of these migrants returned to their old homes. Thus, the "normal" or "natural" direction of migration was reversed. This has been shown statistically by Dr. Carter Goodrich who states that there is a "tendency for the depression migration to select the most poverty-stricken agricultural areas."¹

A third effect of the depression upon migration has resulted indirectly through the policy of the government in granting relief and public works employment. The policy has been generally one of granting relief to individuals in their home counties or towns, and of refusing aid to individuals who applied for it in places other than in their home communities. This has had the effect of crystallizing the mobile unemployed elements of the population in those areas where they happened to be in 1932 or 1933 when relief was first instituted on a large scale. Few recipients of relief cared to risk moving to communities away from

¹ Carter Goodrich, "Study of Population Redistribution," paper delivered before the Population Association of America, May 3, 1935, p. 3. Also Carter Goodrich, *Migration and Planes of Living, 1920-1934* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1935); and C. W. Thornwaite, *Internal Migration in the United States* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1934). The relationship between internal migration and the business cycle in Sweden is shown in Gustav Cassel, *Theory of Social Economy* (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1932), pp. 566-75.

home. To secure aid in strange communities was difficult, whereas, the position on the relief rolls of home communities was relatively secure.

Even the Works Progress Administration, financed and administered largely by the federal government, attempts definitely to plan work projects so that employment will be provided precisely in those communities where there are unemployed individuals, and so that a type of employment will be provided which will utilize the particular skills of the jobless people in these communities. In other words, the program provides work where the unemployed *are* and tends to crystallize the distribution of the people as it is.

Effects on declining areas. Partly as a result of a consistent relief policy which has impeded migration, the highest relief loads and greatest rates of unemployment may be found in those areas which were losing population prior to 1929.² This is true for several reasons. First, the emigration which was characteristic of these areas during the years before 1929 has been reversed. Second, many of those areas where emigration was regularly occurring prior to 1929 are the areas of partially depleted resources or of declining opportunity. In such places, the depression has been keenly felt by existing industries and has resulted in enlarged unemployment. Third, a regular annual outflow of people from these areas is necessary in order (1) that the number of maturing young people in excess of deaths and retirements may be annually drained away, and (2) that the annual decline in employment opportunities may be offset by emigration. The effects of the depression plus the relief policy which has prevented or retarded emigration has operated to diminish the population movement to a point

² A typical study which has shown this fact is: Virginia Hussey and Lucile Foster, *Features of Social Life in Iowa*, Iowa State Planning Board, Iowa City, 1935, pp. 7-9, 60-61.

below the normal annual efflux. As a result, there has been a damming up of population. The normal flow has been obstructed. Many of the surplus individuals and families inevitably have become relief clients. The only means by which they can regain self-support is through emigration. Yet can they be expected to emigrate if they may thereby jeopardize a somewhat secure position on the relief rolls or on W.P.A.?

An example of the relation of relief policy to population mobility and distribution is provided by a county in southern Iowa.³ This county, where more than one fourth of the entire population has been eligible for relief, lost over 15 per cent of its people during the decade from 1920 to 1930, and was still losing population when it was overtaken by the depression. This emigration, though tardy, had followed quite naturally the decline in coal mining, one of the county's leading industries. After 1930, however, the outward movement of people was halted, not necessarily because economic forces had so dictated, but rather because a relief policy had in effect declared that only those who remained "at home" would be entitled to relief. As a consequence, this county can now boast one of the highest relief loads of any county in Iowa.

Suggestions for increasing mobility. Conceding that the present relief policy retards the favorable redistribution of our people and prevents the removal of our "stranded" families to areas of greater potential opportunity, what practically can be done to develop a relief policy which will facilitate the most desirable population movements?

There are two possible answers to this question. First, the relief authorities and the Works Progress Administration could eliminate residence requirements in certifying

³ Howard Bowen, *Report on Appanoose County*, Iowa State Planning Board, Iowa City, 1935.

the eligibility of individuals for relief or public works employment, so that individuals could transfer from place to place without endangering their relief status. Second, the public works program could be so planned that preference for employment be given to persons who have emigrated from decadent or declining areas. This would draw people away from these regions, provide incomes for them during the depression, and leave them free, at the return of prosperity, to seek employment wherever the most favorable opportunities presented themselves. Under this scheme, if it true, there would be no restraint upon the eventual return of the workers to their original homes, yet their inertia against moving would have been overcome, and a great forward step in redistributing our population would have been accomplished.

For example, studies indicate that in the particular middle western county mentioned above, about 500 employable workers will probably never find full-time employment until they move elsewhere. If these workers should emigrate, then the relief problem, which is now so pressing in this county, could be practically disposed of through old-age pensions and other security benefits. Further, the average per capita income of the working population, now distressingly low, could in this way be materially raised. This county is not highly exceptional; it is representative of many scattered areas where resources and opportunities for employment have been and are declining.

Application to farm areas. The importance of this type of policy to the agricultural sections of the country cannot be overemphasized. For example, the state of Iowa has for years been producing an excess of people over and above those required by the industries of the state. Annually, a large number of individuals migrated mainly to the larger cities and to the western states. On the average, 20,000

persons (net) left Iowa annually during the years between 1890-1930.⁴ This yearly population movement was a regular feature of the process by which Iowa maintained a population equilibrium. With the advent of the depression, however, there was a strong tendency for the previous migration to reverse itself, for the former sons and daughters of Iowa to return. There was little incentive for anyone to leave, since it was well-known that jobs were not available in any part of the country. Further, that portion of the population which would have been impelled by sheer necessity to move about in search of work, was practically forced to remain at home in order to qualify for relief or because of lack of funds for travelling. As a result, for six depression years, there has been a strong tendency for the normal population movement to be diminished and for a large number of people to accumulate in excess of the number which could hope to find employment within the state. It is urgent that means be taken to unloose the normal flow of population if the unemployment and relief problems of the state are to be solved satisfactorily. A similar situation exists in most of the agricultural regions of the country.

Relief and occupational mobility. In another way, aside from the effect on population movements, relief and public works policy tends to retard the readjustment of the economic system; namely, through its effect upon occupational mobility. An effort is made to adapt the public works program to the occupations and skills of the people, irrespective of whether or not the people should be encouraged to continue in their former occupations. Workers are classified for public works employment into various occupational groups, and an attempt is made to furnish work in each community which will utilize the particular skills of

⁴ Bernard D. Karpinos, *Past and Future Growth and Structure of the Iowa Population*, Iowa State Planning Board, Iowa City, 1935, Chapter 3.

individuals who are on the relief rolls of that community. This has the effect of reducing interoccupational mobility, and also the effect of inducing workers not to move from one place to another. Further, one is led to conclude that the strong emphasis upon building construction projects tends to place too great a premium upon the services of those engaged in the building trades and tends to cause an excessive proportion of the population to follow these trades or to prevent many from leaving them. This applies not only to relief workers but also to nonrelief workers who are employed by contractors in public works construction.

ASSORTATIVE MATING IN PROSPERITY AND DEPRESSION¹

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THE growing interest of American sociologists in all phases of family life requires no demonstration. This intensified attention to a long-established subject is marked by a lack of enthusiasm for many topics traditionally regarded as important for the theory of domestic institutions, but there has been a parallel shift to the analysis of marital phenomena which were formerly ignored. Despite this extended approach we notice a neglect of one primary element—the process of mating. Although there are many studies of personal roles, births, divorce, economic integration, and atrophying functions we know little about what kind of people marry, at what ages, how mates meet and select each other, and the relations of these phenomena to other aspects of family life.

It would appear to be axiomatic that the formation of new family units is a fundamental process. Not only is the study of marriage selection of absorbing interest in itself, but it is reasonable to suppose that the functioning of any family is dependent upon the characteristics of the members and particularly upon the congruence of their traits. The importance of similarity and dissimilarity of family members forms part of the wider problem of the relative effect of these two types of social bond in human groups. An exhaustive survey of many European and the few American studies leads us to conclude that similarity of characteristics marks most couples.

¹ The authors acknowledge the courtesy of Professor Carle C. Zimmerman in permitting them to use certain research facilities established in Winchester.

By assortative mating we mean, in accordance with accepted usage, the tendency for mates to "choose" each other by means of a selective process, so that there is a definite correlation, positive or negative, between the same traits of husbands and wives. Ignoring the innumerable specific generalizations which may be made from the many studies, the broad conclusion is that human pairing is not a random action but rather that it follows certain patterns which can be generalized. This article does not include an extended substantiation of this statement. We confine ourselves to presenting certain new results, for which we seek verification by others.

This study was designed to determine the nature of the influence of economic depressions upon the correlation between the ages of mates. Random samples were taken from the marriage registers for the years 1928 through 1933 in two rural Tennessee counties, in Winchester, Massachusetts, in Birmingham, Alabama, and in Youngstown, Ohio. In Youngstown, data were obtained also for the years 1906 through 1910. To conserve space and because of the greater adequacy of materials, most of the results presented will refer to Youngstown. We were able to make the data for Youngstown more homogeneous by excluding all remarriages.

The degree of similarity between the ages of husbands and wives in any given sample may be portrayed in three ways: (1) the difference between the respective mean ages, (2) the distribution of the age differences (calling the difference positive when the husband is older), and (3) a coefficient of correlation. Since our samples were too small to give sufficient stability to such product coefficients, the last device was not used in this study. There is no necessity to demonstrate that the difference of mean ages is equal to the mean of the age differences, when there is no

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TABLE Ia
YOUNGSTOWN

Mean ages of	1906	1907	1908	1909	1910	
Husbands	24.9	24.1	25.2	24.9	25.9	
Wives	21.6	21.1	22.3	22.3	22.7	
Difference	3.3	3.0	2.9	2.6	3.2	
	1928	1929	1930	1931	1932	1933
Husbands	26.1	25.9	25.8	25.6	25.6	26.1
Wives	22.1	22.4	22.0	22.6	22.1	22.6
Difference	4.0	3.5	3.8	3.0	3.5	3.5

Percentage distribution of age differences

Difference	1906	1907	1908	1909	1910	
-3 to -9	3.9	1.8	1.9	3.0	3.9	
-2 to +2	35.9	42.5	53.5	48.6	41.1	
3 to 7	49.4	48.4	36.6	41.6	43.5	
8 to 18	10.8	7.1	8.0	6.5	11.5	
N=	295	275	290	231	253	
	1928	1929	1930	1931	1932	1933
-3 to -9	1.5	1.6	.4	3.9	2.9	1.2
-2 to +2	38.0	43.8	40.8	41.6	41.8	36.1
3 to 7	41.0	40.3	44.7	39.9	44.9	53.0
8 to 26	19.5	14.2	13.9	14.7	10.6	10.0
N=	202	191	226	227	212	182

TABLE Ib
BIRMINGHAM

Mean ages of	1928	1929	1930	1931	1932	1933
Husbands	28.0	27.5	28.2	28.0	28.3	28.3
Wives	24.0	23.0	23.5	24.0	24.3	23.6
Difference	4.0	4.5	4.7	4.0	4.0	4.7

Percentage distribution of age differences

-3 to -20	3.0	1.4	3.2	1.5	.6	1.6
-2 to 2	27.9	29.2	27.9	33.9	34.8	33.2
3 to 7	51.5	50.0	50.5	45.9	43.6	47.6
8 to 47	18.3	19.4	19.1	21.0	21.3	17.0

WINCHESTER, MASS.

Mean ages of	1928	1929	1930	1931	1932	1933
Husbands	27.2	28.1	27.1	27.1	27.3	28.2
Wives	24.4	23.9	24.6	24.7	23.9	24.7
Difference	2.8	4.2	2.5	2.4	3.4	3.5

Percentage distribution of age differences

	1928	1929	1930	1931	1932	1933
-3 to -7	8.7	4.9	4.4	7.3	4.1	3.3
-2 to 2	40.3	42.5	49.6	47.7	43.4	46.2
3 to 7	32.5	40.0	39.1	36.7	37.7	34.7
8 to 23	18.6	12.5	6.4	8.2	14.7	14.7

grouping error. It is perhaps not so apparent that the distribution of age differences is logically independent of the absolute age of either party provided the difference of means remains constant. The age-difference distribution is a more sensitive indicator of the changes in the total group; age difference distributions with different dispersions may have the same mean value.

The general conclusion from these data is that the marriages contracted during depressions reveal a greater similarity of age than those formed in prosperous years. The "average couple" is more homogamous and a larger proportion of the pairs are characterized by a small age difference in poor than in good years. More exactly, marriages formed under the influence of depression conditions are more homogamous, since there is an apparent lag of about one year in the changes of the age correlation behind the changes in business conditions. The fluctuations in all the samples are not equally distinct, which partly qualifies the generalization which we have stated. The full force of this limitation need not be conceded, however, for only the Youngstown data are homogeneous for civil status. Since the age difference is larger in marriages where one (or both) party is remarrying and since such marriages form a larger proportion of all marriages in depression years, the effect of these two tendencies will be to offset any tendency for the age difference to decline in the manner we are suggesting. For these reasons we have relied principally upon the two sets of data for Youngstown.

Turning to any accepted chart of the business cycle, we find that business was good during 1906 and most of 1907, at the end of 1907 there was an abrupt recession, 1908 showed a slow recovery which did not attain normal conditions until late in 1909, although the level of prosperity was considerably below that of 1906 and 1907, and another

decline began in 1910. Allowing a lag of about one year, we find that the age differences reflect these economic changes. It is possible that the reaction to declining business is quicker than that to recovery; a more accurate test of the hypothesis would require figures plotted by months or quarters. A change in the difference of mean ages from 3.3 to 2.6 years will appear small only to those who are unfamiliar with the secular stability of demographic indices. The sweeping character of the impact of economic conditions upon the marital age correlation is better measured by the age-difference distributions which show that the age combinations with a large difference decline and those with a small difference increase sharply in depression years.

The Youngstown figures for the present depression are much less distinct. This may be due to the increased industrial heterogeneity of the city and to the less clear pattern of change in business conditions. Sharp recession did not appear until 1930; the smallest difference of ages occurs in 1931 following the sharp drop in business. The changes in the figures for Birmingham are similar, but these data contain an unknown element of remarriages and of Negroes. In the case of Winchester, it can be noticed that the smallest age differences occur in the years 1930 and 1931 during which business was declining precipitously.

The correlation which we have found between business conditions and marriage selection was unexpected, but we believe it is not inconsistent with the nature of the contemporary family. Nevertheless we present our findings tentatively, awaiting further testing. Their validity depends upon certain assumptions which must be made regarding the nature of the mating process, and there are several possible sources of spurious results. We assume that the results are to be explained in terms of the impact of economic

and the associated social changes upon particular individuals. That is, the behavior of the men who married in 1908 and 1909, for example, was different from what it would have been had these same persons married in normal years. It follows that these men chose women of different ages, that is, they chose different women from those they would have done had these years been prosperous. This deduction cannot be tested until we have information concerning the length of engagements.

Persons who are familiar with the general nature of the marital-age correlation surface and the variations in this surface among the different civil status combinations and for different social strata will be able to suggest several reasons why our generalization might be false, at least in part, and to propose certain a priori arguments for the statistically spurious nature of the results. In general, within any population of brides and grooms (we ignore the effects of remarriages since these cases have been removed from the Youngstown data) as the successive arrays of wives' ages, corresponding to increasing husbands' ages, are inspected one observes that the difference of ages increases because the associated mean ages of wives (on the regression line) do not increase so rapidly. Consequently, if men who marry during depression years are older on the average than men who marry during prosperous years—presumably because younger men are financially unable to enter the marriage market—we should observe a larger difference between the mean ages in depression years. Or, if the *mean* ages of husbands and wives were perfectly correlated from year to year, which they are not, the mean age difference should remain constant. Actually, the mean ages do not change systematically with the course of the depression. Moreover, the changes in mean ages are merely a numerical reflection of the changes occurring in the ages

of all the individuals marrying, and the considerable changes in the shape of the age difference distributions suggest that the results are not due primarily to deformations in the separate male and female age distributions but rather to a change in the age difference in a large proportion of the total marriages. That is, we regard the age difference of individual couples as primary and the general mean age for each sex taken separately as secondary.

Our interpretation assumes a general sobering effect of depression conditions. Those persons who find themselves in a position to marry deliberate more than they would do in more comfortable times. The selection of a mate is undertaken more cautiously and consciously, the expectations from marriage are revised. The values which men attribute to wives are varied: conspicuous display, instruments of social advance, economic contribution, domestic grace, sex response, personal congeniality. When income is abundant a wife is valued more as a symbol than as a personality; extreme poverty leads to an emphasis upon the financial or economic contribution which she can make. Intermediate conditions perhaps stimulate consideration of personal characteristics. Those persons who feel able and willing to marry amidst threatening economic circumstances will seek mates who promise to provide congeniality and partnership in meeting all problems. Women who are employed probably have enhanced appeal to men in depression years, and such women presumably are older than the nonworkers.

On the other side, the possibilities of a life of luxurious idleness seem less sure to women when fortunes and positions of men are proved precarious. Men do not wish to indulge in a wife who demands conspicuous display. Sex, in the narrow sense, recedes as the principal element in attraction. In addition, members of both sexes find that re-

duced incomes afford fewer opportunities for expensive entertainment and gay parties, contacts become more restricted geographically and less diverse socially. It appears reasonable to conclude that most of these changed conditions operate to bring persons of similar age together and to build up strong ties between them, and similarity of age is one of the surest grounds for compatibility in interests, temperament, and philosophy of life.

OCCUPATION MOBILITY IN SHANGHAI IN NATIVE-ALIEN RELATIONSHIPS

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THE type of migration represented by the American community in Shanghai is not that in which aliens enter the native culture and replace natives in certain occupations. It has been, on the contrary, of the type in which the alien by his close connections with his own homeland and with alien culture performs certain tasks which the native is unprepared to perform. This continues for some time until the natives learn the patterns of alien action, occupations, professions, and then there begins a process of replacement of foreigners by natives (known by some as "devolution") which restricts the former to a narrower range of occupations. The competition becomes keener even in the vocations within this narrow and specialized range as the natives go abroad to study in large numbers and return and set up establishments which compete with those of the alien already instituted. As the Chinese learn the pattern of alien business and professional life they render the foreigner more and more dispensable, thus emphasizing the latter's impermanence. The natives learn the ways of foreigners and discover that there is no magic in his bag of tricks which cannot be imitated. In fact, the foreigner has been urging the native for years to abandon his archaic ways and follow the lead of the "progressive" West. The aliens have set up schools on the Western model and have bidden the natives come and learn from the fount of modern knowledge; they have translated Western books, sacred and secular, into the native languages; they have trained physicians, dentists, teachers, nurses, engineers, business men, architects, governors, administrators, and

other specialists. Indeed the Westerners have been the tutors and instructors of the Chinese both within and without China. The fruits of this cultural invasion have been to place Chinese in a position to do for themselves what previously the foreigner alone could do for them. The reason for this mobility, this giving jobs to Chinese in foreign-controlled enterprises is based upon (1) the ability of the natives as revealed by their training and performance, (2) the dictates of economy, (3) the desire of the aliens to build up a native organization, and (4) the demand on the part of the Chinese that there be greater native participation in and control of organizations and agencies operated by foreigners in China oriented toward the natives. The nationalistic movement of the last two decades has served to accelerate this process, which theoretically extends from the earlier pole in the time sequence, in which the organization is composed entirely of foreigners, to the ultimate pole in the sequence, in which the organization is carried on entirely by natives.

Displacement in trade. In the realm of business the alien trader expects to keep on indefinitely buying and selling, banking and brokering. The foreign shopkeepers and retailers in the early days of Shanghai as an open port did not expect that they would ever be made unnecessary by Chinese competition, but such has become the case. Foreign drug, stationery, grocery, book, and department stores have been seriously curtailed by native competition. Since objects from abroad frequently can be purchased more cheaply at Chinese-operated stores, naturally many natives and aliens trade at such stores providing they receive satisfactory service and goods. There are still foreign retail stores, but they are not having so free a field as they once did. Some have been forced to close.

In the wholesale, import, and export trade and in banking, the process does not seem to be so rapid, and the alien

in these occupations has been able to hold on longer than in retail trade. But there is an increasing tendency for Chinese to deal directly with firms abroad without the alien middleman in Shanghai. This process, however, does not proceed so rapidly as it might owing to the fact that China does not have the elaborate trade-promotional agencies abroad that the United States has in its consular and Department of Commerce representatives, and chambers of commerce.

In the field of shipping, other nations have become so firmly established that it would be difficult for China to start a trans-Pacific or European service. A great deal of China's coastal and inland water traffic is still in the hands of aliens, although she is trying to curtail this activity.¹

In manufacturing, China and other countries have been competing in Shanghai for four or five decades. Utilizing Chinese labor and Western organizing skill, the alien is able to produce goods efficiently and as yet the Chinese have not been able to take away this advantage of more successful organizing experience and ability.

The American Commercial Attaché was asked by the writer "Is it the practice of American firms to replace American employees with Chinese?" to which he replied,

There is a tendency to do this, but the Chinese do not feel that one of their own race can have the same knowledge about a foreign article, a motor truck for example, that a foreigner can have, even though in specific cases a Chinese may actually have more knowledge than a foreigner. The Chinese in general trust the foreigner's word about a foreign article more than the word of a Chinese about a foreign article.

This illustrates the tendency for people to associate race and culture together. The one becomes a symbol of the

¹ See Mingchien J. Bau, "Foreign Navigation in Chinese Waters," data paper prepared for 1931 Conference, Institute of Pacific Relations.

other. That is to say, a foreigner in America as a rule expects that a Chinese knows more about things Chinese than a foreigner who has been to China, even though in details the particular foreigner may have more information about some Chinese subject. Similarly, Chinese in China may trust more completely a foreigner's knowledge about foreign cultural elements. In the popular mind, at least, it becomes difficult to think of the race-culture relationship as split and rearranged, as for example when people in America expect an American-born Oriental to know about and love Chinese or Japanese culture even though that particular individual may be entirely American in his habits, responses, and outlook. His high racial visibility at once associates him with a certain type of culture, and it is not easy to think of a person with an "Asiatic" face as a loyal and thorough American. Similarly in China it is not easy for the native to think that one of his own race can be as familiar with elements of alien culture as an alien. It must be added, however, that this first stage tends to pass into a second when the native clearly demonstrates that he can learn alien ways and even "beat the foreigner at his own game" (as in certain alien sports). This convinces the native that cultural values can be circulated from one race to another and that, after all, race and culture are not inseparably linked together. As Petrescu has commented,

In the last analysis, national differentiations possess no permanent and essential forms of expression of social reality. They are, like other actual or possible differentiations, only the temporary and gradual forms under which the social process manifests itself in time and place.²

In May, 1932 an official of the Shanghai branch of an American banking institution said in an informal conversation regarding his Chinese employee policy,

² Nicholas Petrescu, *The Interpretation of National Differentiations* (London: Watts, 1929), p. 232.

The policy of the bank in Shanghai hitherto has been to take relatively uneducated Chinese, not college men, and bring them into the bank as sort of errand boys and train them for certain jobs. But this policy has not secured persons from very good families. We have not been able to place very large responsibilities upon them, for they are not of large enough caliber. Some of us in the bank are favoring now a policy of securing college-trained Chinese and training them, putting as much responsibility upon them as they can stand. Hitherto we have been rather suspicious of students as a class because of the dangers of political radicalism. We do not tolerate any meddling in politics on the part of our employees. Then, too, a few cases of serious defalcations on the part of Chinese in some parts of China have made us slow in replacing Americans by Chinese. But now we are convinced that we must make larger use of native men of larger caliber. We are willing to replace Americans with Chinese now just as fast as we can get the right men.

Thus as the native adapts himself to elements in the foreign culture he becomes more available for use in alien institutions and also in native enterprises which adopt foreign ways and which deal with foreigners. The circulation of values here is more in the direction of the alien patterns. That is to say, the native finds it to his advantage to learn foreign ways, whereas there is less incentive to the alien to change his culture in the direction of the native. While alien banking institutions in Shanghai have to make certain adaptations to the old-style native banking customs, yet on the whole the native bankers have learned more from foreign banking institutions than the foreign banks have learned from the native. We have cases of new native banks being started along foreign lines and catering in part to foreign patronage, but we do not have any cases of foreign banks being started in imitation of the traditional Chinese banks. Thus while there has to be some mutual adaptation between those who do business with each other, the main currents of cultural change in banking institutions, as in many other enterprises, have been alienward.

During the strike of Chinese postal employees in May, 1932, it was pointed out that in 1925 there had been 121 foreigners in the Postal Service, by 1930 this figure had been reduced to 59, and at the time of the strike the number was less than 50.³ Thus in those branches of the Chinese Government Service in which aliens have played important roles in the past, their numbers are declining.

In so far as the business community is affected numerically by the mobility described in this article, so will the alien professional man also be affected, since the physicians in private practice, lawyers, and dentists tend to depend upon the foreign community for their patronage. It is true, however, that some of the wealthier Chinese patronize foreign doctors and dentists. There are in Shanghai Chinese physicians and dentists with training equal to that of foreign doctors, in some specialties the Chinese foreign-trained physician may be the best in the city. In general, however, Americans like to have American, or at least foreign, doctors attend them when they are ill.

In the field of law the practice as far as the American and Chinese communities are concerned tends to be confined rather largely to national lines. For one reason, language difficulties make this necessary, and added to this is the system of extraterritorial or consular courts. The alien lawyer of our ethnic community (American) has not become assimilated to Chinese culture, he has not become a citizen, he cannot use the native language fluently, and his livelihood depends chiefly upon the business of his own nationals. If and when the system of extraterritoriality is abolished and consular courts are no longer valid, then the American lawyer will be in a difficult position. This phenomenon further emphasizes the impermanence and the mobility of our immigrant group. The bonds which hold

³ "One Man's Comment for To-day," *Shanghai Evening Post and Mercury*, May 24, 1932. These men were in executive positions, not letter carriers.

the alien lawyer to Shanghai seem to be those chiefly based upon privileges which are to be abrogated in the future.

Displacement in missions. In the case of the missionary organizations the object has been the establishment of the Christian enterprise in all its ramifications in China, to set up a native church with various Christian adjuncts such as hospitals, schools, settlements, charity organizations. In other words, to circulate Western cultural values to the Chinese. From the first there has been the policy of training native leaders with the view to having them ultimately supplant the alien workers. The foreign missionaries soon saw that the Christian movement in China would have to be a movement led by natives, although they did not anticipate that vertical mobility would go on as rapidly as it has since 1925.

For the year 1925-26 in sixteen Christian mission colleges in China there were 465 faculty members of whom 284 or 61.1 per cent were foreign, and 181 or 38.9 per cent were Chinese.⁴ For the academic year 1932-33 in the Christian colleges (arts and science, education, commerce, engineering), the number of full-time teachers was 420, of whom 260 were Chinese and 160 foreigners, percentages of 62 for Chinese and 38 for alien.⁵ For the academic year 1933-34 the total full-time staff of the arts and science colleges came to 412 of whom 270 or 65.5 per cent were Chinese and 142 or 34.5 per cent were foreign missionaries.⁶ Thus we note from these figures that in less than a decade there has been a considerable swing in the Christian colleges in China from more than sixty per cent foreign teachers to more than sixty per cent Chinese faculty members. Greater administrative control has been secured by Chi-

⁴ E. H. Cressy, *A Study of Christian Higher Education in China*, Preliminary edition, Part II, 1927, p. 112. China Christian Educational Association.

⁵ E. H. Cressy, *Christian Colleges in China, Statistics, 1932-33*, China Christian Educational Association, Bul. No. 30, p. 19.

⁶ E. H. Cressy, *Christian Colleges in China, Statistics, 1933-34*, China Christian Educational Association, Shanghai, Bul. No. 33, p. 22.

RELATION OF PAID NATIVE TO ALIEN CHRISTIAN WORKERS IN THE
PROTESTANT MISSION FIELDS IN CHINA 1877-1927⁷

Year	Missionaries	Chinese	Ratios	Percentage native to total workers
1877	500	150	1: 0.3	23
1888	1,100	1,400	1: 1.3	56
1897	2,300	4,000	1: 1.7	63
1907	3,800	10,000	1: 2.6	72
1917	6,500	23,000	1: 3.5	78
1927 (a)	8,250	32,000	1: 3.9	80
1927 (b)	6,500	32,000	1: 4.9	83

(a) Before the exodus from the interior stations

(b) After the exodus from the interior stations

nese. A longer time trend in this growth of Chinese workers in the Protestant churches in China may be seen from a table.

In the earlier days it was expected that the acceptance of the alien doctrine would bring about the same change in the native as it had in the alien himself. One of the speakers at a missionary conference held in 1860 in Liverpool, England, said in this connection,

. . . Careless, apathetic, and indifferent, as the Chinese are in a heathen state, let them only come under the influence of Christianity, and the same change passes over them as over Europeans: they become earnest, hearty, and steadfast in showing to their fellow-countrymen the way to salvation. . . .

Two decades later, an American missionary at Shanghai described the native pastors not in as glowing terms as those used by the British missionary in the citation just made,

Up to a certain point, within a certain sphere, they are true and zealous workers. Beyond that point they are not as efficient as I had fondly desired to find native co-workers.⁸

⁷ O. A. Petty (ed.) *Fact-Finders' Reports, Laymen's Foreign Missions Inquiry*, Vol. 5, Part 2; New York, 1933, p. 89. This table is quoted in this volume from a pictorial chart published by the China Sunday School Union in 1927. Percentage column worked out by the present author.

⁸ C. E. Taylor, *The Story of Yates the Missionary as Told in His Letters and Reminiscences*, Nashville, 1898.

This dissatisfaction of the alien with the native has continued down to this day and has been a strong factor retarding displacement of aliens by Chinese. To one who understands the cultural differences between the two it is not a matter of surprise that the outlander does not always do things the way the inlander does. The former expected a cultural factor such as religion to be transplanted from one people to another and to show exactly the same results, not realizing that culture in any such journey of necessity undergoes some modification and adaptation. While we cannot at present say just exactly what traits in the Chinese are due to racial factors and what are due to traditional habits, it was impossible that the Christian doctrine should make replicas of the Westerner out of the Chinese. As Malinowski says,

Whenever one culture "borrows" from another, it always transforms and readapts the objects or customs borrowed. The idea, the institution, or contrivance has to be placed within a new cultural milieu, fitted into it, and assimilated to the receiving civilization . . . it has to be, in short, reinvented.⁹

To this day when the alien is stepping down and the native stepping up in mission control, we still find the complaints of the foreigners that the Chinese are not doing things the way they ought to, that is to say, the way the alien thinks the task should be carried out. In this transition period there is of necessity much dissatisfaction on both sides, the alien finds it hard not to be "bossy," and a Chinese finds it difficult to tolerate continued attempts at domination by the alien. Gradually aliens who cannot adapt themselves disappear, and only those aliens who are adaptable and diplomatic remain as advisers and co-workers. Thus there is a process of selection going on

⁹ B. Malinowski "The Life of Culture" in *Culture, The Diffusion Controversy* (symposium), W. W. Norton publisher, 1927, pp. 41-42.

among the alien missionaries both as to those who are sent out and those who stay after they arrive. The desires of the Chinese leaders, who are trying to "naturalize" Christianity in China, have much more weight with the sending boards in the homeland than they did even two decades ago.

We find also that the alien "mission" organization in Shanghai (the administrative body of missionaries on the field) is becoming outmoded and the subjects referred to it for decision fewer, or at least less administrative, as the Chinese organization takes the burden of the actual operation of the schools, churches, hospitals. This represents in an organized form a vertical mobility of which we have pointed out the individual form. Not only are Chinese individuals moving up to higher positions and the alien moving in the opposite direction, or leaving, but Chinese organizations in relation to the alien organizations are doing the same thing.

To a considerable degree, the natives who step into positions of leadership are foreignized by their long contact with the alien and his ideas, even though the native may and does complain that the patterns set by the alien have been too "foreign," yet the native who sets about to "indigenize" or to naturalize these institutions to Chinese conditions has about him an ineradicable alien flavor which his non-Christian Chinese friends recognize. This is indicated by a statement which the president of an American, now called "Chinese," mission college said in an informal gathering in my home in Shanghai:

When I am with Chinese friends who are not Christians, I feel that I'm not really Chinese. My thoughts and attitudes are more foreign than theirs even though I am a Chinese. Then I come to realize how different is my attitude from theirs.

This vertical mobility involving displacement of foreigners by Chinese is a part of a broader native movement

against cultural domination or invasion. The natives desire certain alien cultural values and objects, but they do not want them forced; they wish to feel free to fit these alien traits into their own framework; to "hybridize" rather than "alienize" even though the main stream of change is alienward.

This movement to which we have been referring as "vertical" has also its horizontal aspect. For example, in the two groups existing side by side, American and Chinese, individuals of the latter are circulating into institutions of the former. To a lesser degree there is a movement of Americans into Chinese organizations. Thus there is a horizontal *national or racial* displacement and also a vertical *positional* displacement. In addition to this individual aspect of the movement, we may think also of associational circulation in which an organization moves from a position in which there is a preponderance of alien control to one in which the control is in the hands of natives. This is functionally related to changes in the tone of the group and may even affect the fundamental pattern of the association.

THE PROBLEM OF LOW-RENT HOUSING IN THE UNITED STATES

CHARLES J. BUSHNELL

THE passage last June by the United States Senate of the Wagner-Ellenbogen Housing Bill, and the statement on public housing in the platform of the Democratic party are significant landmarks in the progress of community housing in this country.

The public awakening about housing. Americans have begun to awaken to the fact that approximately half the people of the United States have for years been living in houses and neighborhoods that are a serious menace to public health and general welfare.¹ They have long been costing us as a nation billions of dollars annually in sickness, delinquency, unpaid taxes, and general depreciation. The private real estate and building industries never have provided houses for the masses of lower paid wage earners. These citizens and their families, numbering at least one third of the people, have had to live in the abandoned, deteriorated, and obsolescent houses of the higher income classes.

Social backgrounds of the community deterioration. This state of affairs is due fundamentally to the same out-of-date ideas and habits regarding ownership and economic control that produce the periodic depressions of business. In the advance of machine technology we are now confronted with the possibility of an economy of abundance for all, but we continue to have the masses of our people live in an economy of scarcity. We have lacked the spirit of community solidarity necessary to correct these shortcomings. In consequence we have excessive social

¹ See Edith E. Wood, *Slums and Blighted Areas in the United States*, published in 1935 by the Housing Division of the Federal Administration of Public Works.

disunion, intensified class conflicts, undue concentration of incomes, biased legal enactments, and habits of profiteering and racketeering that have for the past hundred years been increasing the total debts in western countries faster even than the increasing production that is supposed to support them.²

Features of our economic system hostile to home owning. This impossible state of affairs has become peculiarly hostile to private home owning by the great majority of the people. In the centers of our cities, especially, the excessive, speculative land values spread a load of high prices and debts through every undertaking and vocation of the whole of society. In many areas the recently depressed prices will never rise again, and should not. They have too long retarded general progress. As corporate stockholding under inadequate public control spreads over wider areas of property, ownership and responsible control become separated. Absentee stock owners know little or nothing of the lives and needs of the employees and consumers involved in the properties they own. Through the devices of nonvoting and voting stock, holding companies, and interlocking directorships, the stockholders are forced to center their aims upon rents, profits, interest, without sufficient knowledge of, or concern for, the community rights involved. Depressed wages limit the markets; installment buying piles up the debts. Foreclosures and evictions follow. In 1930 in Toledo, a city of some 70,000 families, there were 16,000 evictions.³ This is fairly typical for many American cities. In this same city,⁴ in 1933 and 1934, there were over 700 foreclosures *each year*, 75 per cent of which saddled heavy debts on the dispossessed owners *after the loss of their homes*,—the total residuary debt, by “deficien-

² See Basset Jones, in *Electrical Engineering*, November, 1932.

³ *Report of Ohio State Unemployment Insurance Commission*, Part I, p. 39.

⁴ According to survey made of Lucas County, Ohio (chiefly Toledo) foreclosure records, under direction of the writer, for the Governor's Committee on Farm and Home Protection.

cy judgments," amounting to over \$1,000,000. The Ohio law, like that of other states, puts the home owner at a disadvantage. This is quite contrary to the more advanced, general practice in Europe. Here the home owner who is unable to meet the payments on his mortgage is forced to bear a much greater share of the loss through depression of real estate prices than is the mortgagee. The market value of the property is set by the sheriff. In the absence of higher bidders (which is common in a depression) the mortgage owner may legally bid in the home at two thirds of this depressed value. The would-be home owner not only loses his home, plus all payments he has made on it, but also, the shortage between the mortgage and the selling price, which, as we have seen, totaled for the 1400 sheriff's sales in Toledo over \$1,00,000 in two years. After this, the mortgage holder, to whom the ownership reverts, often resells the property and repeats the "killing." The mortgagor should, in justice, lose no more than an amount to cover such fair items as rent and depreciation of the property during the time he used it. But even at best, private home owning for the lower-income wage earners under the existing industrial system can never become a success. Wages are too low; prices, too high; jobs, too insecure; necessity of moving, too frequent; and general incomes, too concentrated and too manipulated by speculative monopoly.

The social costs of the present system of housing. The social costs of trying to maintain this system of home owning are now becoming known through careful social surveys. Take, again, a typical example in Toledo. Surveys were made recently under direction of the City and County Plan Commissions and the Toledo Metropolitan Housing Authority.⁵ These studies located a typical slum area

⁵ The last was formed in the fall of 1933 under the Ohio Housing Law, enacted in co-operation with the recent federal housing legislation. It is a nonpartisan, governmental body empowered to purchase land by eminent domain rights, and to build, own, and operate residence communities for citizens of low incomes. The writer is a member of this Authority.

of some 40 blocks which had formerly been a good residence section near the present business center of the city. In this area over 700 of the houses had long been officially condemned as unfit for human habitation. Yet they were, and had long been, illegally crowded with tenants, who had been paying exorbitant rents for such wretched premises. Thirteen thousand people, one twentieth of the city population, lived in the area; but it contained one tenth of the city's active tuberculosis cases and one twelfth of the city's juvenile delinquency. The latter cost the general community a quarter of a million dollars over a period of a few years. In 1931, nine tenths of the families were on poor relief; taxes, utility charges, and rents were extensively going unpaid. Fire calls were costing the city over \$4,000 a month, without including property losses.

The federal government undertakes housing reforms. The federal government has recently been forced to face these and similar conditions throughout the country with a demonstration program of slum clearance and home-building projects. The public has begun to learn that there are apparently two kinds of home building and financing now required in the country: one that can be conducted by private industry for the people who pay the higher prices, and one that must be conducted by the government for the classes who cannot pay the higher prices. The latter method is now becoming necessary, even to revive the former. For five years of depression, the population has been increasing without the building of adequate new houses. The shortage of houses has now reached at least 10,000,000. Apparently the heavy industries, severely depressed, can be revived effectively only by the pouring of several billion dollars into the building trades. In this, as successful foreign experience seems to indicate, the government must now take the lead. Consequently the federal government has been offering to finance and promote

demonstration projects of slum clearance and rehousing by making, to duly constituted local authorities, a gift of 45 per cent of the costs of labor and materials, and a loan of 55 per cent, to be repaid out of rentals over a period up to 60 years. This offer is being accepted throughout the country. The Toledo Metropolitan Housing Authority is co-operating in a project requiring \$2,000,000 expenditure for a part of the region above described.

Recent developments of low-rent housing in the United States. Recent developments of the federal government's efforts in this direction are significant. The Wagner-Ellenbogen Housing Bill, as the housing plank in the new Democratic platform indicates, will probably come up again in the next session of Congress. It is therefore necessary to understand this bill in considering the problem.⁶ In brief, it provides for (a) an independent, corporate, permanent, full-time agency, called The United States Housing Authority, to discharge the federal responsibility for the housing of families of low income. (b) The term "families of low income" is defined to mean families "who lack sufficient income, without benefit of financial assistance, to enable them to live in decent, safe and sanitary dwellings and under other than over-crowded conditions." (c) The Board of Directors is stated to consist of 3 members, appointed for terms of 3 years each, by the President (with no ex-officio member). (d) The powers of this Authority cover both slum clearance and all the other steps in low-rent housing, including planning, financing, land acquisition, demolition of old buildings, construction and equipment of adequate housing and neighborhood facilities for families of low income. It has the right both to develop and to administer demonstration projects of slum clearance and of low-rent housing, but only upon the request

⁶ See Congressional hearings and statement and digest of the bill published by the National Association of Housing Officials, 850 E. 58th Street, Chicago.

and with the advice of local official bodies or representative unofficial organizations (so as to favor local autonomy and initiative). (e) Demonstration projects shall be sold as soon as practicable to local public housing agencies. Pending sale, the authority may lease, or contract for the management of, a demonstration project, under specified conditions, either to a public housing agency or a public housing society. The Authority is instructed to give consideration to assistance by states or municipalities in the form of partial financing, grants, land, or remission of taxes. (f) In the event that a local project financed by it is not maintained as a low-rent affair, the Authority is empowered to purchase the project and make it serve the people who most need it. (g) The Authority is also empowered to promote public knowledge and interest about housing by making surveys and encouraging research and experimentation in the subject. (h) Most of the employees of the Authority are placed on a civil service status. (i) The total sum appropriated in the bill of last June was only \$460,000,000. Only one demonstration project was to be undertaken by the Authority in any one city; and then at a total cost of not to exceed \$2,500,000. So apprehensive still are the financial and business "powers-that-be," regarding any participation of government in the alleged business activities! This is reflected in the existing disagreement of the court decisions on the question whether land used for housing may be sufficiently "devoted to a public use" to justify the government in exercising the right of eminent domain to secure it for that purpose. However, the trend seems to be, here, (as it clearly is abroad), toward granting such power of public benefit to the public authorities.

A new public policy of community housing. There is a growing public recognition of the necessity of treating

the community, and not the individual home, as the ultimate unit of housing. As Lewis Mumford has said,⁷

We have brought to the new situation in housing an antiquated set of methods, habits and ideals. We have continued to think of the dwelling house as a free and independent unit like the old-fashioned farmhouse or the suburban cottage of the Eighties. . . . Meanwhile, the new utilities and conveniences of urban living have destroyed this kind of isolation and self-sufficiency. . . . The modern dwelling house is a unit (an integral part) in a neighborhood community. To design a house that will accommodate all the needs of modern living, *one must also design the community.*

We are "faced with a serious housing shortage, since the population has continued to increase and the usual proportion of antiquated houses has become unlivable." We need everywhere less attention to private profiteering and more attention to public serviceability.

Basic conditions of success. In summing up, we may state the principles of further success in these new ventures of community life as follows:⁸

1. Revival of the building industry, through large-scale, publicly directed housing.
2. A wide educational drive is necessary to educate both the public and the experts.
3. Effective planning for modern housing must include not only rehabilitation of local communities, but also wider planning and co-ordination of general public facilities (as, for example, in the Tennessee Valley Authority program).
4. The maintenance of a certain minimum standard of housing of low-income groups is necessary for general public welfare.

⁷ In the Architectural Forum for April, 1933.

⁸ Much valuable information is contained in Catherine Baer's *Modern Housing*, and in the pamphlet distributed free by the National Association of Housing Officials, in Chicago, on *A Housing Program for the United States*. See also Henry Wright, *Rehousing Urban America* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1935).

5. Since "private enterprise, working on ordinary commercial lines, cannot afford to provide this minimum," the securing of this standard must be now regarded as a public responsibility, like that of education and water supply.

6. Under present conditions of depression, "the instrumentalities for financing and promoting this work must be the Federal Government, and to a large and increasing extent, the local authorities."

7. Since this community housing service is to be provided for the low-income classes, the land costs, labor costs, and interest rates on the capital borrowed have to be determined by the rentals these classes can afford to pay.

8. The savings to the general tax payers which can be made by sound and long enduring community building, in the reduction of the costs of our slums, will more than offset any exemption of taxes or subsidies that may have to be made.

9. "Housing management, as here indicated, is a new profession, which combines efficient and socially minded public administration with the business and technical routine involved in maintaining the property, facilitating the tenant-landlord relationship, and dealing with social problems. There is interesting European experience to show that when moved into good dwellings, well maintained and helpfully managed, the majority of slum dwellers will respond to the new conditions," and "make good" as tenants and as citizens.

10. No time should be lost in these United States in training the needed housing directors, and in informing the public of the basic conditions of success for this new type of community.⁹ It is coming. "It does not displace work

⁹ A school for housing managers, financed by a public foundation, has been set up in Washington under the direction of the National Association of Housing Officials.

which would otherwise be undertaken by private enterprise; . . . it expends the capital cost mainly in labor; . . . it transforms what are at such times idle credits into revenue-earning and self-liquidating assets; . . . it saves a very substantial sum which must otherwise be spent in the maintenance of the unemployed; . . . it produces probably the greatest amount of social amelioration of any comparable kinds of relief work." We need to back our government with every available resource in this great venture.

RISING STATUS OF WOMEN IN CHINA

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CHINESE women are now gradually emerging upon the new and changing scene in China. They are using every effort to shatter the innumerable bonds and chains which have bound them fast these hundreds and hundreds of years. There is a new cry in the air, the cry of independence, equality, and freedom, which has characterized the new spirit of the world. They are forging ahead slowly, but steadily now. They are coming from all directions in the nation. There are women doctors, teachers, administrators, artists, athletes, writers, bankers, lawyers, aviators, film stars. There are three women members in the legislative Yuan in the Central Government. There are women in political, social, and economic reform movements and in tens and tens of other occupations followed by the educated and capable women of the West. The Chinese women are no longer confined to the homes. They are taking important parts in outstanding and important activities side by side with men. Their mentality and status have undergone a tremendous change. They realize that they are citizens of China, and being citizens, they are aware of the needs in the rebuilding of the nation, and they must do their part.

The custom of foot-binding has disappeared, thanks to the Christian missionaries who, with their Christian ideals of love and equality, have helped to make the men of China see the absurdity and cruelty of the fatal custom to women. Women are now free to take a large interest in athletics. Track and field events for women were added to the official program in 1929. Later, girls also participated in Far Eastern Olympic games in Tokyo and Manila.

Various types of games are being taught in schools now, such as throwing the javelin, wrestling, training in complicated steps of traditional dances, long running, volley ball, et cetera.

Today the new women of China are being judged by the same standards as are men. They no longer lose their individuality after marriage. They are able to retain their professions, their points of view, and their property. Marriage is now considered as an institution in which mutual love and help form the real basis. These are some of the outward signs of the inward change. The women of China today have discovered the vast potentialities in life and they will not remain satisfied until their ambition has developed to the fullest extent. There is a general hunger and thirst for knowledge, for education, for more and higher education which will help the new women of China to fulfill their mission in order to make real contributions to their country. The problem of providing education for such an immense female population of the nation is very large. One must remember, however painful the admission, that taking male and female members of the nation together, there are over 85 per cent living in ignorance and illiteracy. One is overwhelmed with the tremendous task in front of us all. However, the government is doing its best to meet that situation, and with the heroic efforts of both the public schools and Christian mission schools, the task is being carried on. The women with opportunity have vowed to put their shoulders to the wheel in the uplifting of the masses. They will not be content until they can devote themselves with heart and soul, and mind and strength to the task of helping these masses. Illiteracy is one of the real obstacles, the real stumbling block, to the progress of China, and this the new women of China must patiently remove as they push forward with the progress of the nation on the new and changing scene of life.

As to the education of women, the honor of establishing the first schools for girls to learn to read and write belongs to the Protestant missionaries. The first school was established in 1849, by American women, at Foochow, my home city. Ten or twelve years later other schools of the same type were founded in other cities. No government school was established until 1887, thirty-eight years later. Education for girls became more common in the first years of the Republic of China. But special emphasis was laid on elementary education, on cooking, needlework, and home economics. Later, normal schools were established, and large numbers of women students enrolled in these schools. The beginning of higher education for women was in 1917, in the Peking Girls' Normal School, when special courses in Chinese literature and education were offered them. Other higher normal schools were established. The advancement and progress made by women in scholarship, in other school activities, and the active parts they took side by side with the boy students in Student Movements, especially the May Fourth Movement of 1919, opened the eyes of the educated class to the vast possibilities of higher learning for women. The same year, in the fall of 1919, women students, for the first time in the history of higher learning, were admitted to Peking University. Nine women enrolled. This was followed by coeducation in nearly all colleges and universities in China. With the advent of the National Government in 1927 there was a definite change for the better. The statistics show, in 1934, the enrollment of 147 women students in the National Central University, Nanking, as against 981 men students, a considerable advance for women in education. Of these 147 women, 9 were taking courses in engineering, although the majority devoted themselves to courses in education.

Dr. Sun Yat-sen, the founder of Kwantung University, now Sun Yat-sen University, made a statement of the purpose of the institution, saying, that "the university should

be made an instrument of democracy, to train men and women to become intelligent and useful citizens, making them industrially, socially and politically efficient for the betterment and progress of the state."

There is an interesting report on the recent reforms in higher education issued in November, 1934, by the Ministry of Education, stating that there are 111 universities and colleges throughout the country. Of these 28 are national, 32 are provincial, and 51 are private. Among these are two independent colleges for women. The first is Ginling College, Nanking. It was said that there, in 1934, 115 positions were opened to the 29 graduates, while there was a general unemployment of the college graduates among men in all the cities of China. This alone shows the preference for women teachers and social workers throughout the country. The other women's college is Hwa Nan College in Foochow, where I have been serving for many years. The graduates of this college have no difficulty in finding positions, in fact, the situation is much the same with them as with the Ginling graduates. These educated women will interpret China at its best.

As Hwa Nan College is the institution where I have worked, I wish to have the privilege of quoting the following from an article written by Dr. W. Y. Chen, the General Secretary of the National Christian Council. He writes:

In the first summer conference for all college students in south China held in Amoy last June, the contribution of Hwa Nan Students was unique. A great deal of preparation which insured the success of the Conference was made by a Hwa Nan graduate, Miss Ling Euguong, one of the executive secretaries for the Conference. Miss Ling travelled through several cities in preparation for the Conference. One of the distinctive features was the discussion groups. Hwa Nan delegates participated enthusiastically. In music as well as in social activities, Hwa Nan delegates also rendered a great service. At the reception given by the Mayor of Amoy, Miss Chow Su-

ten was chosen to represent the Conference in response to the Mayor's speech. Not only did she express herself freely in excellent Kuo-yu, the national language, but the speech itself was the most thoughtful and suggestive one of all the speeches that I heard in the Conference.

In January, 1936, a conference was called by General Chiang Kai-shek at the capital city, Nanking, to meet the outstanding educational leaders and students of the country. At this conference, the delegates were given the opportunity to express their views freely, and the government answered them frankly. Some 300 university presidents, middle school principals, and student representatives were present. The results were gratifying. The presidents and principals at this conference issued a manifesto asserting that they would support the government in preserving the territorial rights of China, et cetera. The chief benefit of this conference was the better understanding brought about between the government and the representatives of the intelligent Chinese. There have been more unity and better support of the government by the intellectual leaders since then. There were many eminent leaders at that conference such as Dr. Hu Shih, Dr. Chang Pao Ling, Dr. Herman C. Liu. What they said to the government was of particular interest to the public. Two women college presidents made deep impressions at the conference, Dr. Wu I-fang, President of Ginling College, and President Lucy Wang of Hwa Nan College. Dr. Wang had the distinction of being the youngest of the presidents of the universities and colleges of China.

These incidents show that in many important events, in intellectual life, in social life, women are not only active but assume the important part of many functions where men and women students have gathered to talk over the important issues of life.

Permit me to mention a few outstanding women in China who are taking active part in different walks of life, in helping the rebuilding of the new China. In educational work, I have already mentioned Dr. Wu I-fang, President of Ginling College, and Dr. Lucy Wang, President of Hwa Nan College, representing leaders in higher education for women. Both of them have traveled extensively in the United States. They both represented women of China in Pacific Institutes at Tokyo in 1928, I believe. They are graduates of the University of Michigan. Both were from families with high cultural backgrounds, and hence received the benefits of education in their early days in preparation for later leadership in China. Miss Tseng Pao-Suan, founder and principal of I-fang Girls Middle School at Changsha, Honan, a returned student from England, is another nationally known figure in the program of education for women. Miss Tseng was chosen as one of the few delegates to the Jerusalem meeting in 1928. In the spring of 1936, she was one of the three speakers of the "Youth Religion Movement," sponsored by the Y.M.C.A. of China. As one speaker of a team, she had the occasion to address audiences totaling some 150,000 students in 13 cities. The Youth Movement is a significant movement for the youth of China today, especially in directing their thoughts to higher thinking in religious matters. Miss Tseng's scholarliness and personality have touched literally thousands of girls of China.

In social reform, I wish to mention Mrs. Herman C. Liu, the wife of the President of Shanghai University. Mrs. Liu was one of the first Women Temperance Union leaders in China, who took aggressive part in the fight against the vices of narcotics and alcohol. Since the government has definitely taken charge of this work, Mrs. Liu has been engaged in helping the beggars in Shanghai, the most helpless, and most degraded class of the nation. She has suc-

ceeded in educating a large number of them for some particular occupation and type of handwork, so that they can earn a living for themselves. We hope that this piece of social reform will spread widely in China, so that soon the country will be rid of one of the sore spots of the nation.

Politically, I wish to mention in particular the three distinguished sisters of the Soong family, who have held eminent positions in the National Government, and in the social, educational, and industrial world of current China. Madam Sun Yat-sen established a school of politics to educate women to be useful in the field of woman's participation in the Revolution of 1911. She took a fearless part in helping her husband, Dr. Sun, to attain success in the Revolution when China was engaged in the conflict to overthrow the monarchy. She is now the head of the Red Cross in China.

Madam H. H. Kung, the wife of the Minister of Finance, has been exerting tremendous influence over her husband's gigantic responsibility in holding the nation's finance in his hand.

One cannot mention the nation's leader, General Chiang Kai-shek, without placing Madam Chiang in the scene. The spread of the "New Life Movement" which has met with widespread success has been inspired and interpreted in its true meaning and practicability by Madam Chiang. One of the greatest parts she has played in the great life of General Chiang is the spending of two hours of quiet time with him in the morning between four and six. These quiet meditations at the beginning of each day must have their effect upon General Chiang's character and personality, and the strength derived from coming in contact with the higher Being must help him to bear the burdens and the responsibilities of the nation. In fact, the baptism of General Chiang and his public avowal to the faith of Christianity was due to the influence of Madam Chiang.

She is the real "power behind the throne." The country owes to her, to a great extent, the success of her husband in his many outstanding accomplishments for the nation.

However, behind all this powerful influence of three of the greatest national leaders in the history of China, is the gentle, beautiful, unassuming personality of the mother of these three outstanding women of China, the mother also of Dr. T. V. Soong, the former Minister of Finance, who ever since the birth of her children prayed and offered their lives to God, that He might use them as instruments for the betterment of society and to bring freedom to the women of China.

SOCIAL MALADJUSTMENT AMONG FILIPINOS IN THE UNITED STATES

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FILIPINO immigrants in the United States, set loose in the midst of the surging forces of American life, are confronted with many temptations and difficulties which modify character, and in many cases result in deterioration. It is no wonder that many Filipinos who were well behaved when they were in the Islands become social and moral problems in American cities. If anyone or anything is to be blamed at all, more of the blame should be laid upon the situation than upon the individuals who are victims of the situation; and the Filipino nation should not be judged by its members whose original personalities have been greatly modified, if not utterly altered, by social maladjustments in the United States.

Abnormal sex ratio. The sex ratio of the Filipino immigrants in the United States is very abnormal. According to the United States Census of 1930, there were 42,268 Filipino males, while there were only 2,940 females in this country. In the State of Washington there were 3,374 Filipino males and 106 females. This abnormal sex ratio carries with it great consequences upon Filipino behavior in America. It helps to increase their mobility. A Filipino may come from Alaska on August 30, arrive in Seattle on September 1, go to Yakima Valley on the fifth, stay there for two or three weeks to pick hops, then go to California. He may stay there until April, come back to Seattle, go to Alaska in May, go back to Seattle in August and then go East.

The abnormal sex ratio partly explains why Filipino girls, born here or who come here at an early age, tend to

be more fickle than Filipino girls in the Islands. A pretty Filipino girl here has several times more admirers than if she were in the Islands. Due to mobility her circle of admirers is subject to change. Some old ones may go to other states, or go back to the Islands, while new ones may present themselves for her hand. The girl partly by choice and partly by circumstances is apt to change her mind accordingly. There is a beautiful half-breed girl in an American city. She was a candidate for a Rizal day queen. She is a graceful dancer, a good singer, an engaging conversationalist, and she writes articles for various Filipino papers in America. She has numerous admirers from all classes of Filipinos from college graduates to sailors, and is bombarded with love letters from the east, south, and north. In the course of my investigation I found two college students who proposed to her before meeting her. To make the most out of the situation she has developed the art of encouraging almost everyone and accepting no one definitely.

The abnormal sex ratio is an outstanding reason why many Filipino boys seek the companionship of American girls and flirt with Indian girls in Alaska. A Filipino was imprisoned for eloping with a girl fifteen years old. It is reported that the girl is now pregnant. Her parents, however, according to the boy's lawyer, do not want the couple to marry, so great is their prejudice against Filipinos.¹

As a matter of fact, many Filipinos are reserved and cautious in their behavior toward American girls even to

¹ Cases like this have given the Filipinos the reputation of being "fresh" with girls. But my observation for ten years obliges me to say that the statement that the Filipinos are "fresh" is too sweeping a generalization to be true. In Alaska, I noticed that in a group of perhaps fifty boys, about ten or more were making love to girls. Some simply make fun by teasing the girls, and some disdain to court Indians. But the boys who flirt openly with the girls become the basis for the reputation for the whole group. In Sitka in 1930, there were three Filipinos who kissed Indian girls who passed by the Filipino bunkhouse during the day. There were college graduates and other boys whose conduct was beyond question, but the public opinion in Sitka was, "Filipinos have worse morals than Indians; for they kiss girls on the street even in broad daylight."

the extent of discourtesy. Many Filipinos would not speak to or smile at a girl classmate they met on the University of Washington campus unless the girl took the initiative. Many a Filipino would not help an American girl sitting next to him even if she were struggling hard to put on a tight overcoat, for he fears lest his courtesy might be mistaken for flirtation.²

One of the principal sources of misunderstanding is the difference in folkways and mores. American girls say or do things that are regarded innocent in this country, but in the Islands they are said or done only by a girl who wishes to encourage a boy. For instance, in a department store, one of the girls used to call a Filipino boy working there "darling." An American girl looks straight and steadily at the face of a person she is talking to, while a Filipino girl avoids steady and direct glances unless she is in love with the boy. Even in the latter case a girl does it steadily only when no one is present. Aware that American girls are more free in their ways than Filipino girls, but not aware of the exceptions to the generalization, a Filipino is likely to go beyond the limit.

Lack of family life. Filipinos, as a rule, do not come here to stay. They intend to go home after attaining their objective and to marry at home. Very few intend to marry American girls. Even if they set their hearts on marrying American girls, they do not have much chance to marry "good ones" if they are situated on the Pacific Coast where prejudice against Filipinos is great. In the East and in the Middle States Filipinos have better matrimonial chances. There is a Filipino who married the daughter of a banker. Another Filipino married a daughter of his professor. The reason for the difference in attitude is that most of the

² The writer has been in Alaska nine summers, and has stayed in the United States since 1926. Most of the materials cited in this paper passed under his personal observation.

Filipinos in the Middle States and in the East are students. Many of them were government pensionados or are pensioned by their families. Consequently they enjoy better prestige than the Filipinos on the Pacific Coast where all classes of Islanders are found, and where they enter in competition with white laborers. There are not many Filipinos in the East. On the other hand, three fourths of the Filipinos in America live in California which has a law forbidding American citizens to intermarry with Orientals.

In view of the fact that the overwhelming majority of Filipinos in America have no family attachment and are engaged mostly in seasonal work, they can not be expected to form a normal and stable community. As it has been stated above, a great many of them move up and down the Pacific Coast, from the city to the country, and vice versa, according to the laws of labor supply and demand varying from year to year and from season to season. In extreme cases, the lack of family results in abnormality.

School problems and associates. Ambition for education is both a guiding star and a cause of deterioration among many Filipinos in the United States. Many come here to take a college degree. If they fail to do this, they are ashamed to go home and stay here either indefinitely or until they have made enough money to make up for their failure in education. This might lead to business, to staying steadily on a job, but it might also lead to illicit enterprise. Several times I have heard the wish, "If I win five thousand dollars, I go home even without a degree."

Some Filipinos who are mediocre in their school work in the Islands think that when they come to America they will make better grades. They have the illusion that temperate climate will improve their intelligence and the fact that they will be self supporting students will make them behave better and study harder. Such hopes are frequently shattered on the rocks of realities. There was a high school

student who was employed in a family where the work was hard. In addition to the regular house work, he had to help his boss make beer twice a week. This was prior to the repeal of the prohibition law, and the beer was a great attraction, thereby occasioning frequent parties at the house. The boy, being only average in intelligence, could not keep up with his studies. He quit school and fell into the association of rowdies. The members of the group help one another in fighting and in escaping from the police after a fight. Those who are employed support those who are out of jobs. Sometimes they use one another's clothes. During the first five years of their association their delinquency was confined to fighting, and they scorned stealing. But last year some members of the gang engaged in robbery which sent them to prison to serve sentences of four months. The gang has members in Los Angeles, San Francisco, Portland, Seattle, and Yakima. They are about sixty in number, but only a small percentage of them are real rowdies, and not more than ten engage in stealing.

There are very few Filipino gangs in Seattle. Most of them are of the diffused type, and some are organized only when there is an emergency such as a big fight. The ideal place to study Filipino gangs would be in California and Chicago. The nucleus of the gang referred to above is now in California. Usually they come here before the opening of the Alaskan canneries. In Los Angeles, the Filipino gangs have frequent fights in the dance halls and in the streets. The writer has interviewed boys who recount with heroic joy their exploits in fighting. The core of Filipino gangs is composed of boys coming from the same town, the same province, or from provinces whose people speak the same dialect. Once in Los Angeles there was a big fight between Ilocanos on one side and Visayans and Tagalogs on the other. In Seattle there used to be a great deal of antagonism between Ilocano and Tagalog gangs. The lat-

ter, being fewer, were allied with the Visayans. But the Ilocano gang called their most dreaded member from Oregon, and their enemies kept quiet. At one time the rival gangs made an appointment to fight in a certain place. They went in several cars to the place, but the police received advance information and frustrated the fight. It must be added that such events rarely occur; they do not feature in the everyday and usual life of the Filipinos here. The better elements are opposed and are grieved to see sectional fights.

The success of a newcomer is to a certain extent aided, retarded, or defeated by the old timers with whom he is associated. There is a province in the Islands which has many boys holding steady jobs in a western city where a university is located. Having much money to spend, being in the downtown area, and having work hours not very favorable to studying, they gradually drifted into city pleasures, until they became addicted to them. Naturally they try to secure jobs similar to their own for newcomers from their province, and instead of guiding them to the schools and libraries they introduce them to the dance halls, houses of prostitution, and gambling joints. Although the province has about a hundred boys living in the state and although most of them come here for college education, from 1920 to 1934 only two have graduated from the university. There is a city in Luzon which has a population of about 2,500, the smallest city in the province. Its boys in the city where the university is located had been engaged mostly in housework in families, fraternities, and sororities. Houseworkers receive only free board and room and during prosperity they used to receive, in addition, ten, fifteen, or twenty dollars a month, much less than those who work in big hotels and restaurants. But a school-boy job is well suited for students, for the boy works mostly in the mornings, in the evenings, and on Saturdays. The first boy from

the small town who came to America took a master's degree. Of the third set composed of five boys, only one failed to get a college diploma, two got bachelor's degrees, one a master's degree, and one took his Ph.D. at Columbia. Newcomers from the town are employed in housework, the job in which their fellow townsmen who preceded them specialized. Sometimes the newcomers are taken directly to the university campus and become familiar with information about college entrance and the means of supplementing one's finances. They go to work in Alaska during the summer and come back to the city in September to resume their housework. Although the small town has only fifteen boys in the city, nine of its boys have graduated from the university alone, and two have graduated from a college in the same state. There are three first class municipalities in the same province who have each over 150 boys living in the state mentioned above. From 1920 to 1934, none has graduated from the university, whereas the small town had nine boys who graduated during that time. The chief explanation for the disparity is the fact that three cities, each with a population of over 25,000, have in the American city gangs or groups of boys whose interests and activities deflect persistent effort in school. Most of the students from the three big towns have not gone beyond high school. Some of them, however, have cars for a "good time."

Prejudice and bad environment. Prejudice occasions a great deal of difficulty and sometimes crises in the lives of Filipino immigrants in the United States. There was a boy seventeen years old who worked in a family greatly prejudiced against Orientals. The members of the family had the notion that Filipinos are good only for servants. If he did not clean the pans to their satisfaction, one member of the family used to remark, "Remember we are not Filipinos." The boy had to sleep in the basement which had no division for a room. Not daring to answer back, the boy's

resentment was pent up. He did not like to leave the work because it was winter and he did not have much money. But he was anxious to quit the job, if he could. The two conflicting desires—desire to stay, and desire to leave the house—added to his humiliation, and unreleased resentment combined to make him abnormal. He finally left his job and went to live in a hotel. One day the landlady of the hotel was surprised to see several taxi-cab drivers calling at her hotel. The crazy boy had called them. The government shipped him to the Islands where he recovered. Later he went to Chicago, and became crazy again.

Prejudice and low income obliges the majority of Filipinos in the American cities to live in deteriorated areas such as Chinatown. Of the 135 Filipino arrests made in Seattle in 1933, 81 took place in or near gambling joints, dance halls, and poolrooms in Chinatown.

Streets	No. of arrests
Maynard St.	8
Washington St.	10
Main St.	4
King St.	45
Jackson St.	14
Total	81

Gambling. Many boys who never gambled in the Islands are initiated into the vice on the boats, in the canneries, and in the bunkhouses on the farm. Night and day, Chinese maintain gambling tables on the liners which carry the Filipinos to the United States and also on Alaskan steamers. Then there is a great deal of gambling in many canneries. Some contractors, especially Chinese and Filipinos, appoint special gambling bosses for the canneries under their contract. I learned from a student that in a cannery in north Alaska, a gambling boss tried his best to induce everyone to gamble and was very much displeased if he was refused. In actual gambling the boss might lose now

and then, but he eventually wins because the commission charged is high. As the money goes back and forth, the commission taken for every win piles up. In a cannery which employs 50 boys a contractor can make from \$1,000 to \$2,000 from gambling alone.

A boy may start betting one or five cents simply for fun or curiosity. If he wins he might want to win more; if he loses he wants to regain his loss. This state of mind leads him deeper and deeper into the vice until he is addicted to it. I was present when a Filipino, a bookkeeper, paid his boys. Only five of the boys received full pay; some were paid off due to gambling. This is not, however, a typical case. There are Filipino contractors who forbid gambling of any kind in their canneries. The N.R.A. code for the salmon canning industry provided that no gambling should be done in the canneries. The N.R.A. is now dead, but its provisions at this time (1935) are still followed by the salmon cannery industry.

Immaturity. Filipinos who left the Islands at an early age lack a firm background of Filipino culture, and when they are here thrown on their own resources, especially if they have no older relatives or friends to advise and guide them, are likely to go astray. When a freshman in the high school figures out that he has to study and work for at least eight years, he is like a mountain climber at the foot of the Himalaya Mountains. When he is faced with difficulties, he might be overwhelmed with discouragement, and he might be tempted to drift toward the point of least resistance. But one must guard against generalizing too much. The ambition for a college education is very strong among many Filipinos, especially those who have already made a start in school. In a state university I met three students who quit school five, eight, and ten years ago. During the time they were out of school they drifted here and there seemingly like a boat without a compass. But now they are

back in school determined to finish their courses. A Filipino business man and a laborer each told me that he had not yet given up his intention to go back to school, and that he expected to enter the university next year.

A girl of seventeen came from the Islands and entered high school. The father had to work, sometimes out of the city, and she was frequently left alone, especially during Alaska season. A boy with a car used to drive her to school. Finally she died due to miscarriage.

Cases like the one cited above attract great attention and give an exaggerated notion of the frequency and extent of Filipino delinquency. This case is exceptional rather than typical of the Filipino girls. It is very rarely that a Filipino girl at the age of adolescence comes to the United States. Filipino girls seem to be more conservative than Filipino boys in their reaction to their American environment. It is perhaps because Filipino girls who come here usually have relatives to take care of them.

According to the captain of detectives and the superintendent of the county jail of Seattle it is very rarely that Filipinos commit serious crimes such as murder, robbery, burglary, and swindling. The superintendent stated that of the Orientals, the Japanese commit swindling most frequently; the Chinese, murder; the Filipinos, quarrelling with and petty theft from their own fellow countrymen. At any rate the offenses committed by Filipinos are, generally speaking, petty ones.

The deteriorating effect of prejudice has been discussed. Now, I wish to point out the retarding effect of prejudice with regard to Filipino delinquency. As prejudice prevents the Filipinos from being assimilated into the best strata of American society, so prejudice also keeps the Filipinos from being absorbed into the aristocracy of the underworld, and from learning much of the technique of forgery, burglary, racketeering, kidnapping, robbery, and other

great offenses. In prison, the great school of crime, the Filipino is as socially snubbed by the "big shots" of the underworld, as he is snubbed by the cream of American society outside the prison. As a Filipino has no chance to become a mayor of an American city, so he has no chance to become a great criminal like Dillinger, or Al Capone. In short, prejudice prevents him from becoming a dangerous criminal and a very serious menace to society.

CHILD-PARENT SOCIAL DISTANCE

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IN a study of child-parent social distance the questionnaire on the following page was submitted to 458 Los Angeles children ranging in age from twelve to seventeen years. Approximately half of the group were underprivileged boys and girls while the others were the "run of the membership" girls from the local Y.W.C.A. and boys from the Y.M.C.A. and were considered to be "average" with regard to social and economic classification.

The numerical replies to each of the first seven questions, transmuted into percentages,¹ were added to the percentage scores on the second seven questions obtained by assigning values to the nonquantitative categories in equal intervals from zero to one hundred per cent.² The figure obtained by dividing this sum by 14 (the number of questions) was called the social distance index and was used in the comparison of the underprivileged children and the average children, boys and girls, with regard to relative social nearness to their fathers and their mothers.

In addition to the fourteen questions, each child was asked to indicate age, sex, school grade, birthplace, the country in which father and mother were born and whether or not they were living in the home, the number of older and younger brothers and sisters which showed the size of the family and the position of the child in the sibling birth

¹ For example, if Question 1 were answered: Father (12), Mother (23), Others (5), Alone (10), the total times attended would be fifty. Thus the percentile score for the father would be 24 and for the mother 46. These figures were taken to indicate relative social nearness.

² Percentile values assigned in Questions 8-14 were: "Never"=0, "Seldom"=25, "Sometimes"=50, "Often"=75, and "Always"=100; "In no way"=0, "In few ways"=33, "In many ways"=67, and "In every way"=100.

order. With these data and the social distance index it was possible to make a number of very interesting comparisons the results of which will be offered, without detailed explanation because of limitation of space, as findings with regard to child-parent social distance.

In the past year how many times have you:

1. Gone to the movies:
With your father?..... Mother?..... With others?..... Alone?.....
2. Gone visiting and on trips:
With your father?..... Mother?..... With others?..... Alone?.....
3. Discussed something that was worrying you:
With your father?..... Mother?..... With other adults?.....
4. Mentioned any success you have had in school, work, or play:
To your father?..... Mother?..... To other adults?.....
5. Asked for advice:
From your father?..... Mother?..... From other adults?.....
6. Followed the advice:
Of your father?..... Mother?..... Of other adults?.....
7. Quarrelled:
With your father?..... Mother?..... With other adults?.....

	<i>Never</i>	<i>Seldom</i>	<i>Sometimes</i>	<i>Often</i>	<i>Always</i>
8. Do you play games at home?
With your father?
With your mother?
9. Do you go to church?
With your father?
With your mother?
10. Do adults understand you?
Does your father?
Does your mother?
11. Are adults too strict with you?
Is your father?
Is your mother?
12. Are adults too easy with you?
Is your father?
Is your mother?

13. Do you try to keep adults from finding out about things you do? .....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Your father? .....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Your mother? .....	.....	.....	.....	.....
	<i>In Every Way</i>	<i>In Many Ways</i>	<i>In Few Ways</i>	<i>In No Way</i>
14. When you grow up would you choose to be like: .....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Your father? .....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Your mother? .....	.....	.....	.....	.....

1. Those social and economic factors which determine their classification as "underprivileged" apparently adversely affect the relations of these children with their parents as the average social nearness index of the underprivileged group was only 82.9 per cent of the index for the "average" children indicating that the latter group was definitely closer to both parents.

2. The combined index numbers of the boys and girls from both the underprivileged and the average groups was 15.1 per cent higher for the mothers than for the fathers. At almost all of the age levels and in families of all sizes both boys and girls were found to be closer to their mothers than to their fathers.

3. Culture conflicts tend to create social distance between second-generation children and their foreign-born parents. The average index for all the children studied was 10.3 higher for native-born parents than for foreign-born parents. Although the children were closer to their foreign-born mothers than to foreign-born fathers, the fact that foreign-born men make more social contacts and are more quickly assimilated in this country with the resulting reduction in culture conflicts in child-father relations was indicated by the smaller difference in index numbers for native- and foreign-born fathers as compared with native- and foreign-born mothers.

4. Girls of both underprivileged and average groups were closer to both parents than were the boys of both groups but the boys were closer to their mothers than the girls were to their fathers. However, the tendency for children to be closer to their mothers than to their fathers was greater among underprivileged children than among average children and was also greater among the girls of both groups than for boys of both groups. It is also interesting to note that the difference in the index numbers for native- and foreign-born parents was greater among the girls than it was among the boys in both the underprivileged and average groups.

5. Child-parent social distance as measured in terms of the index numbers was definitely correlated with age. The younger children showed greater social nearness to each of their parents than was manifested by the older children and a fairly consistent decrease in the social distance index was found as the age of the children advanced—a rank-difference correlation of $.76 \pm .15$ was obtained between the ages of the children and the index for both parents. Both boys and girls at each age level were closer to their mothers than to their fathers and the correlation between index numbers and age of the children was larger in the case of the fathers indicating a tendency for a greater increase in the social distance between children and their fathers as they advance in age while the social nearness to their mothers decreases less rapidly as they grow older.

6. In general, the order of birth of the children was not an important factor in the size of the child-parent social distance index, but it was found the first born among the underprivileged children were closer to their parents, while in the average group the youngest children showed the greater social nearness. This may result in part from the necessity of the larger number of foreign-born parents among the underprivileged group to depend upon their

older children as interpreters and the practice of many of the mothers of underprivileged children of assigning the responsibility for the care of younger children to older daughters especially while these mothers are working outside of the homes.

7. The size of the families in the underprivileged group was almost double that of the families in the average group. This may account in part for the difference in child-parent social distance of the two groups for the greater social nearness was found where the families were smaller. It is interesting to note that greater social nearness was found in one-child families and that in those cases where the only child was a daughter greater social nearness to the mother than to the father was found. Boys who were only children were closer to their fathers than to their mothers.

8. Analysis of the answers to the questions as to whether the children considered their parents to be "too strict" or "too easy" with them reveals that underprivileged children evaluate parental disciplinary methods as being too strict while the average group thought their parents were too easy. Boys were more inclined to report their parents as being "too strict" than were girls and the fathers were considered "too easy" more frequently than were the mothers. Foreign-born parents of underprivileged children were more strict than native-born parents while little or no difference was found between native- and foreign-born parents in the average group. Answers to the two questions regarding the supervisory patterns of parents were apparently consistent.

9. Mothers were consistently taken as models, according to the answers to Question 14, more frequently than fathers. The fathers of the average group exceeded the fathers of the underprivileged group by 23 per cent in the degree to which they were considered as ideals and the mothers of the average group similarly exceeded the mothers of underprivileged children by 20 per cent. Girls accept

their parents as models more frequently than do boys and both prefer their mothers to their fathers. Boys accept their mothers as models to approximately the same extent as girls accept their fathers but the degree to which girls accept their mothers exceeds the degree to which boys accept their fathers as models by 22.6 per cent.

An index of social distance based only on the answers to Question 14 was found to show relationships similar to those indicated by the social distance index based on the questionnaire as a whole. No attempt was made to measure the reliability of the questionnaire through repeated administration but it was found to be internally consistent. The validity of the instrument as a measure of social distance was checked in all of the cases of underprivileged children as complete case studies were available for all of the children in this group. All of the group differences reported were statistically significant.

In addition to the group comparisons the information obtained from the questionnaire was found to be useful in the program of parental education and individual guidance of the underprivileged children receiving clinic diagnostic and treatment service.

SECOND-GENERATION JAPANESE AND VOCATIONS

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WITH an increasing number of second-generation Japanese reaching later adolescence and early adulthood in recent years the problem of the type of vocations they might enter in a near future has been assuming a paramount importance not only among themselves but also among their first-generation parents. In this paper we shall limit the scope of the subject to the presentation of the employment situation of the second-generation Japanese as it is manifested in Los Angeles at present.

Table I indicates that of 4,451 second-generation Japanese who were engaged or employed in various forms of vocations in Los Angeles, in 1934, 3,110, or approximately seventy per cent of the total number of the second-generation Japanese employed or engaged, were found working in retail fruit and vegetable stands and wholesale as well as retail produce business, and only thirty per cent, or 1,141 to be exact, in sixteen other miscellaneous forms of vocations. In comparing the figures of the second-generation Japanese in these vocations with the corresponding figures for the first-generation Japanese, we find that more second-generation Japanese were engaged or employed than first-generation in retail fruit and vegetable stands, produce business, garages, and in dentistry. On the other hand, it is shown that in nine different types of vocations an exceedingly small number of second-generation Japanese were engaged or employed compared with the figures for the first-generation in these lines. These vocations include: working in barber shops, gardens, hotels, retail flower shops, restaurants, grocery stores, chop-suey houses, nurseries, and cleaning and laundry

establishments. It is interesting to note that the number of second-generation (female members) who were engaged or employed in the beauty shop business happened to be the same as that of the first-generation in the same vocation, and that attorneys were wholly represented by the second-generation Japanese, who unlike their elders, are entitled to practice law by virtue of their American citizenship.

TABLE I

SHOWING A NUMERICAL COMPARISON OF THE FIRST-GENERATION AND THE SECOND-GENERATION JAPANESE WHO WERE ENGAGED OR EMPLOYED IN VARIOUS VOCATIONS IN THE CITY OF LOS ANGELES, 1934¹

<i>Vocations</i>	<i>Number of persons engaged or employed</i>	
	<i>F. G.*</i>	<i>S. G.**</i>
1. Retail fruit and vegetable stands	900	2,750
2. Wholesale produce ²	141	203
3. Retail produce (chain markets) ³	56	157
4. Cleaning and laundry	270	80
5. Nurseries	210	50
6. Groceries	440	48
7. Chop-suey houses	200	35
8. Garages	28	32
9. Gardeners	1,500	20
10. Dentists	11	15
11. Restaurants	160	15
12. Hotels	305	10
13. Beauty shops	10	10
14. Insurance agencies	43	7
15. Attorneys	0	6
16. Drugstores	9	5
17. Retail flower shops	105	5
18. Physicians and surgeons	26	3
19. Barber shops	162	1
TOTAL	4,576	4,451

¹ Japanese Chamber of Commerce Report for 1934, Los Angeles. (By courtesy of Rev. K. Unoura.)

* F. G. stands for the first-generation.

** S. G. represents the second-generation.

² The figures for wholesale produce indicate the number of Japanese engaged or employed in 47 Japanese stores, in the city market of Los Angeles, as well as the Terminal Wholesale Produce Market, in August, 1935.

³ The figures for retail produce (chain markets) show the number of Japanese engaged or employed in 31 Japanese chain markets in August, 1935.

Now what are the probable implications of these trends in the vocational selection of the second-generation Japanese as they are revealed in figures in Table I? In answering this question, the vital elements that merit attention are threefold, namely, the nature of the vocation, the social status attached to it, and the probable extent of being employed in it. First, all the vocations in which a remarkably small number of second-generation Japanese are engaged or employed in comparison with the first-generation are in the line of personal service, trade, and agriculture. These vocations involve the types of work which demand usually a considerable amount of physical labor and constant attention. In the course of interviews the writer has frequently been assured by the first-generation Japanese in these lines of business that the second-generation does not apparently show any inclination to enter these fields on account of the great amount of physical labor involved. Second, the first-generation who have had no other ways than entering these lines of vocations have always been held in a rather low status within the new country to which they have emigrated. It is quite conceivable that the young aspiring group of second-generation Japanese, who are American citizens by birth and who are thoroughly Americanized, tend to strive toward a higher status in society through rising from the lower status in which their immigrant elders have been held. Last, and probably most momentously, those vocational fields in which the first-generation Japanese still have their dominant role, are not broad enough to demand the entry of the second-generation at present. Consequently, it seems that the second-generation has gone into the vocations where a large number of them could find vocational outlets and possibly have better chances for attaining a higher level of social status in the future than in the vocations where the first-generation Japanese are dominant at present.

ZNANIECKI AND SOCIAL ACTION

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PROFESSOR FLORIAN ZNANIECKI of the University of Poznan, Poland, has contributed to social psychological thought, not only in his earlier works,¹ but in his most recent volume, entitled *Social Actions*.² The analysis in this work approaches a sociological system of thought. It is based on reading that involves 3,000 or more references in several languages, and on careful, analytical thinking that is far-reaching in its implications, logical in its reasoning, and challenging in the problems that it raises for the social psychologist.³

Social actions are "actions which have as objects conscious beings, individually or collectively, and which purpose to influence those beings."⁴ The origins of social actions are found in individual interests⁵ in individuals, in individual interests in collectivities, in collectivities as they bear upon individuals, and in collectivities as they bear upon collectivities. These four sets of origins represent in the main an ascending degree of complexity in interaction.

¹ Professor Znaniecki achieved widespread recognition not only in the United States but elsewhere when he associated himself with W. I. Thomas in the publication of *The Polish Peasant in Europe and America* in 1918. His later work on *The Laws of Social Psychology*, published in 1925 by the University of Chicago Press, is well-known.

² The full bibliographical reference is Florian Znaniecki, *Social Actions* (New York: Farrar and Rhinehart, Inc., 1936).

³ The author pronounces behaviorism an inadequate approach to the study of social actions. It is inapplicable to a theory of social actions "beyond its original range of animal and infant behaviorism" (p. 16). A second objection is "that behaviorism leaves out of consideration in studying human actions" "the existence of objects which are not only meaningful, but partly—often almost completely—non-material in content and irreducible to sensory perception" (p. 14).

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 65. At this point the question may be raised whether conscious purpose is necessary in order to make an action of one person that involves another a social action.

⁵ "Interests" are identified as "a combination of objects and of attitudes toward them" (p. 54).

It assumes the existence of interests and attitudes that are themselves complex products of hereditary reflexes, incessant conditioning, and daily experience together with a person's favorable and unfavorable reactions to these experiences.

Social actions are divided, in the first place, into those characterized by "a positive subjective prejudice toward" their objects. These are denominated under the somewhat doubtful title of "accommodation."⁶ They fall into subpatterns of invitation, propitiation, enticement, co-operative guidance of various sorts, such as magical guidance, verbal guidance, guidance by authority, and educational guidance.⁷

The other side of this active process of influencing people relates to the subject, as distinguished from the agent, and refers to the way persons respond to social stimuli. This is a twofold response, involving either participative submission or purpose submission. One is found in the case of the person "who actively and spontaneously submits to being led without waiting to be influenced into submission."⁸ The other type of response is illustrated by the person who, in attaining a purpose of his own, joins with other persons who have similar aims, or by the person who seeks to achieve a purpose by acting the same (imitation) as someone else who has a similar purpose.⁹

In the second place, social actions may start from a negative purpose against their objects. These may be labeled "opposition" in order to distinguish them from the activities called "accommodation." The primary expression is self-defense. Then there is group defense as found

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 134.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 134-230.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 239.

⁹ *Ibid.*, chs. IX, X.

in the repression of criminal behavior, and individual defense as expressed through revolt. Further, one social group may develop an elaborate defense against another social group.¹⁰ Crime is defined as "an objectively evil act, a violation of social validity, an offense against the superior dignity" of a collective system.¹¹ Crimes are negative social values. The criminal outsider does not belong to the collectivity, for example, the unbeliever who is thought to profane a religious ceremonial by his very presence.¹² The criminal outsider is often viewed as one who is to be annihilated. The criminal insider is treated differently. He is a different kind of social object.¹³ His offense is serious because it strikes from within the group. No loyalty is expected from the outsider, but the insider who attacks the group is likely to break the group asunder and destroy its unity. He may be treated with (1) "a compulsory training in righteousness," (2) "a regenerating penance," or (3) he may be excommunicated.¹⁴

Revolt as one of the forms of negative social action is ancient and universal. Its most persistent pattern is the revolt of youth.¹⁵ This particular pattern arises from conflicts between an adolescent's own "systems of values and the behavior complexes of individual adults," such as father, mother, or other adults. Youth revolts against an individual adult, against injustice, and against adult civilization. Some youths accept social control by resignation, and others end in a "matter-of-fact transgression."¹⁶

A beneficial aspect of revolt is that it "tends to bring innovations into the cultural life of the collectivity" in-

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, chs. XI to XIV.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 351.

¹² *Ibid.*, p. 369.

¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 380.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 386-408.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 410.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 432.

volved.¹⁷ In fact, revolt in this sense may be "the main factor of cultural progress."

Then, there is a special phase of opposition, where the agent spontaneously performs an act of aggression.¹⁸ Although he is not being interfered with in any way, he deliberately sets out to interfere with the possessions or the welfare of others. From the individual angle, robbery is an example; from the collective approach, state depredations and confiscations are samples. Also, there is aggressive competition, and coercive exploitation, such as child labor and enslavement.

A third class of social actions are those that for the lack of a better term Dr. Znaniecki calls "altruistic." "Disinterested love" is too specialized a term; "friendship" is too broad; both are too psychological. Every altruistic action may be viewed as an attempt to overcome a difference

between the values and activities included within the range of the agent and those within the range of the special object, by producing between them a conscious community where there was none before, and thus increasing the interpenetration of their spheres of experience.¹⁹

There are four classes of altruistic actions, (1) making the social object share certain experiences with the agent, or synesthetic communion as when one person endeavors to make another share his pleasant experiences in beholding a work of art; (2) making another share attitudes, or sympathetic communion, which involves "agreement in valuation," as when a scientist makes other scientists accept a new theory; (3) making another share active tendencies, or synergetic communion, or getting others to "co-operate for a common objective purpose"; (4) making the social object actively identify himself with the agent, or al-

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 440.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 462.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 551.

truistic substitutions, as when one "solves for another a painful situation which the latter is incapable of solving for himself."²⁰

In the fourth instance, social actions include those of hostility, which parallel the altruistic actions: (1) avoiding common experiences (avoidable); (2) eliminating attitudes of the social object from the agent's sphere of valuation (aversion); (3) frustrating activities of the social object (hostile fighting); and (4) actually "destroying the social object's system of values" (revenge).²¹

Altruistic actions are side developments of those called accommodation, and hostility actions are side lines of those called opposition. In the fifth category are those social actions that represent a compromise between accommodation and opposition. They grow out of an egoistic interest to obtain some object (egoistic compromise), such as trade or employment.²²

In addition to social actions, there are many other kinds of human actions: technical, economic, religious, intellectual. The social actions and the nonsocial ones are variously connected and the social sciences are likewise joined together. The study of social actions is sociology, which thus has a clear field of its own.²³ In this way Professor Znaniecki identifies sociology with social psychology. Irrespective of labels, however, he has evolved a system of social psychologic thought which suggests phases of the conflict and co-operation theories of Gumplovicz, Ratzenhofer, and Small. The analysis involves much more, however, than new names for well-recognized processes. It offers a detailed picture of one whole phase of life, namely, that in which a person influences other persons and groups, and in which he is influenced by others and by groups.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 519-67.

²¹ *Ibid.*, p. 569.

²² *Ibid.*, Ch. XVIII.

²³ *Ibid.*, p. 620.

Foreign Sociological Notes

Edited by EARLE EUBANK, University of Cincinnati

The recently formed Netherlands Sociological Society (*Nederlandse Sociologische Vereeniging*) held its first meeting in April, 1936, with Dr. W. A. Bongers of the University of Amsterdam as presiding officer. The *Proceedings* of the meeting have been published and topics announced for subsequent programs. The Society has already affiliated with *La Federation Internationale des Sociétés et Instituts de Sociologie*, with Dr. Bongers as correspondent.

* * *

The developing strength of professional sociological interest in Japan is not fully realized in this country. The Japanese Sociological Society, organized in 1925, has over 500 members, which is about half as many as the American Sociological Society, organized twenty years earlier, and which naturally draws from a much larger area. Plans for the twelfth annual meeting are now under way. The National President is Dr. Teizo Toda, and the National Secretary (who is also the Correspondent of *La Federation Internationale* with which it is affiliated) is Dr. Junichiro Matsumoto, both of the Imperial University, Tokio.

* * *

The thirteenth International Sociological Congress will be held in connection with the Exposition Universelle de Paris, from September 2 to 5 inclusive, 1937. The central theme of the Congress is "Social Equilibrium." Preliminary discussions of this topic have already appeared, as follows: "Introduction a l'étude des équilibres sociaux," by G. L. Duprat, Secretary General; "Le Concept d'équilibre est-il nécessaire aux sciences sociales?" by P. A. Sorokin, President for 1937; and "La Sociologie et la notion d'équilibre," by E. Lasbax, of the University of Clermont-Ferrand. The papers just listed, and other details of the coming Congress, will be found in the September-October, 1936, issue of *La Revue Internationale de Sociologie*, which is devoted especially to the topic.

The special committee of the American Sociological Society (Messrs. Sorokin, Park, Eubank) appointed in 1936 "to study the question of affiliation with the International Federation of Sociological Societies and Institutes," made its report to the Society at the annual meeting in December, recommending affiliation, subject to certain conditions. (See report of the Committee in *The American Sociological Review*,

December, 1936, pp. 955-59.) The report was adopted by the Society, which voted "to continue this Committee to conduct negotiations with *La Federation*, to make further report at the 1937 meeting, and to submit any proposition for ratification." Prof. Sorokin will represent the Committee in further discussions at the International Congress next September. Further details concerning the International organization will be found in *The American Sociological Review*, June, 1936, pp. 449-54. Howard Becker of Smith College is the American correspondent of the body.

* * *

We give here belated notice of the death, March 30, 1936, of Dr. *Montagu David Eder*, one of the early and continuously active members of the British Sociological Institute. Although his scientific specialty was psychoanalysis, with especial reference to its social implications (*Social Aspects of Psychoanalysis*, 1923), he was active in many fields. He was one of the originators of the voluntary school clinics, established in the poorer sections of London, which grew into the School Medical Service established by the London County Council, of which he was one of the first medical officers. He was the founder and editor of *School Hygiene*, in which the same social interest was manifested; he was an influential pioneer of the Zionist movement, and was one of its stabilizing personalities during the critical days following the postwar reorganization of Palestine.

* * *

Evidence increases that the term "Sociology" is becoming more generally used, and is more popular in England than it has been in the past. The latest indication of this is the series now in preparation by one of Great Britain's leading publishing houses, Chapman and Hall (London), "Modern Sociologists: A Series of Critical Studies of the Theories of Great Modern Sociologists." The list includes: *Tylor*, by R. R. Marrett, Rector of Exeter College, Oxford; *Pareto*, by Franz Barkenau; *LePlay*, by Alexander Farquharson, the distinguished head of London's LePlay House, and General Secretary of the British Institute of Sociology; *Comte*, by F. S. Marvin; *Veblen*, by the veteran John A. Hobson; *Robert Owen*, by H. L. Beales; and *Marx*, by Karl Korsch.

It is evident from this list that in Great Britain the term "sociologist" is a much broader and less specific term than in the United States. But the use of the word in such a connection will go far toward making the discipline respectable in the country which has so long looked at it askance.

Another evidence of a "sociological tendency" in Great Britain is the appearance of a new magazine, *Science and Society*, edited by Pryns Hopkins, Alexander Farquharson, and William Stephenson. This appears three times per year from the Mercury Press, Kingsway, London. Subscription: 10 shillings for six numbers. The current January-April issue is devoted to "the movement from individualism to collectivism in the economic organization of society."

* * *

The British Institute of Sociology was chiefly instrumental in organizing in 1935 a conference on the social sciences, comprised of persons teaching the various social sciences in British universities. The second conference was held at Westfield College in September, 1936. So far, a primary emphasis has been upon teaching methods in colleges and secondary schools. It is anticipated, however, that these will later be widened to include questions of social policy as well.

News Notes

The Southern Division of the Pacific Sociological Society will meet at Chaffey Junior College at Ontario on Saturday, May 15. The program as announced by President George B. Mangold will include a morning session at which the main theme will be "Constitutional Aspects of Social Reform." The main speaker will be Frank H. Garver, Professor of History, The University of Southern California, and the discussants, Mr. Charles B. Spaulding, Whittier College, and Professor George M. Day, Occidental College. A noon program is to be announced later. In the afternoon, the first topic will be "Relief and Security," with Dr. Bessie A. McClenahan, Professor of Sociology, The University of Southern California, as the chief speaker; and the second topic "Relief Situation in California," to be presented by Arthur Greenleigh, Assistant Director, Bureau of County Welfare. The discussants are Dean Pearl E. Clark, Professor of Sociology, Chaffey Junior College, and others.

Professor Alvan A. Tenney of Columbia University, long an associate of the late Professor Giddings, contributed more to sociology than he received credit for. His death brings to mind his many years of service in the field of sociological criticism. His analytical mind was quick to expose fallacies.

"The World Challenge to Democracy—How Can America Meet It?" is to be the subject for the Summer Institute for Social Progress at Wellesley to be held on the campus of Wellesley College, July

10 to 24. Dr. Colston E. Warne of the Economics Department of Amherst College will be the faculty leader.

The second annual meeting of the Southern Sociological Society was held at Birmingham, Alabama, April 2 and 3, 1937, with President Wilson Gee, University of Virginia, in charge. Special topics considered were social welfare and public policy, communication and social changes, social research, the teachings of sociology, and rural sociology. The annual dinner was devoted to the progress of sociology in the South.

Social Welfare

SEX EDUCATION. By MAURICE A. BIGELOW. New York: American Social Hygiene Association, revised edition, 1936, pp. xi +307.

Twenty years ago this book first appeared, presenting the principles underlying a proper system of sex education. There has been but little deviation from the standards and programs suggested in the original book, but the passage of time has necessitated enlargement and the addition of new material. This edition has been placed on the market because it became possible, owing to reversion of publisher's rights to the author, to sell the new book at a price within the reach of nearly everybody. Many additions have been made throughout the book and a new chapter of nearly forty pages entitled "Notes and Discussions" has been added. In this chapter the best thought on many controversial points is brought up to date and reference is made to books dealing with these points. A very valuable part of the book consists of the selected bibliography in which are given classified lists of books covering many phases of family life and sex education.

G. B. M.

WITH RURAL RELIEF IN COLORADO, February-November, 1935. By OLAF F. LARSON. Research Bulletin No. 1: Federal Works Progress Administration, Rural Research Section, 1936, 28 pp.

This bulletin gives the reasons for opening and closing rural relief cases, shows what disposition was made of such cases when the FERA stopped giving assistance, and describes the type of cases selected by the various agencies to which cases went from the rural relief rolls. The bulletin contains many charts and tables to show the ultimate disposition of the relief cases.

R. R. H.

SOCIAL TREATMENT IN PROBATION AND DELINQUENCY. By PAULINE V. YOUNG. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1937, pp. xxxvi+646.

Characterized as a textbook for students and a reference book for practitioners in the field of juvenile delinquency, behavior problems, child study, child welfare, juvenile police work, juvenile probation, juvenile protective work, and child guidance, this book richly qualifies for these claims. Beginning with introductions by Roscoe Pound and Justin Miller, it launches forthwith into the social case study of unadjusted youth and parents. Enriching her chapters with excellent case material, the author presents the methods and principles underlying a comprehensive study of a case.

After taking a case step by step through the juvenile court, the author follows this procedure with a thorough discussion of the place of the court in the programs of treatment and prevention. The methods of juvenile police and crime prevention bureaus are discussed and some of the shortcomings indicated.

Investigation and diagnosis are followed with a study of treatment. The author's emphasis on the parental and community factors in the causation of delinquency leads her to react unfavorably and to present methods of treating the problems in language as follows,

At present the major emphasis in the treatment of delinquency falls on the delinquent himself, assuming that, once the medical and mental adjustments are made, the child will be able to resist the disorganizing forces and demoralizing influences in his social environment. Comparatively little attention is paid to the rehabilitations of the home and parents and the community.

A number of cases are then cited at length.

Several chapters deal with parents and the social case treatment of the family group. Typical case histories are then presented in detail, these being intended to illustrate programs and methods of case work with the family for the purpose of modifying the child's behavior and modes of conduct.

Part IV discusses the responsibility of various community factors in the work of adjustment. Organized religion, the school, vocational guidance, recreations, co-ordinating councils, and juvenile court clinics are discussed in separate chapters. Again the arguments 'are illustrated with appropriate case work materials.

The book is a significant contribution to social work literature: it is well documented, it is punctuated with selected bibliographies and suggestions for further study, it also contains the usual typographical errors but blazes the way for improved practice in the treatment of delinquency and behavior problems. G. B. M.

THE SOCIAL COMPONENT IN MEDICAL CARE. By JANET THORNTON. New York: Columbia University Press, 1937, pp. xiv+411.

The primary purpose of this study was to discover the social disorders from which the medical patients suffered and to determine the resultant effect on the health of the individuals. A second purpose consisted in the desire to analyze the complex factors that enter into conditions of ill health and disease.

The material for this book is based on a study of 100 cases taken from the records of the Presbyterian Hospital in New York City. Efforts were made to distinguish between illnesses due to organic disease and ailments caused in part or entirely by other causes. Among these causes were inadequate physical protection, inadequate economic protection, faulty personal habits, and various types of dissatisfactions both within and outside the family group.

Two chapters are devoted to remedial measures undertaken to deal with the unfavorable social factors involved. Efforts had been made to influence both the environment of individuals and their conduct as well. A brief abstract appears of each of the 100 cases and one case is presented at length. This book should prove very helpful to all social workers and to those expecting to enter medical social service.

G. B. M.

GLORY ROADS, The Psychological State of California. By LUTHER WHITEMAN and SAMUEL L. LEWIS. New York: Thomas F. Crowell Company, 1936, pp. x+267.

Two writers from San Francisco have given a caustic description of several recent attempts in California to reach for a better social order. The Utopian societies, the technocracy movement, the Townsend Plan, the co-operatives, and Sinclair's epic campaigns are each treated vividly but without penetrating to the deeper human meanings of these often ill-advised attempts to secure justice.

VOCATIONAL REHABILITATION AND WORKMEN'S COMPENSATION. By CARL NORCROSS. New York: Rehabilitation Clinic, 1936, pp. xvi+126.

What are the results of lump-sum settlements, for industrial accidents, upon the men who receive them? Is vocational rehabilitation taking place under the lump-sum settlement scheme? What is the effect upon physical and emotional readjustment and re-employment? How is the money spent? Such questions are treated. Material is based upon case studies in New York. The appendix contains twenty-five selected case histories.

P. M. B.

SOCIAL WORK YEAR BOOK 1937. Edited by RUSSELL H. KURTZ.
New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1937, pp. 709.

The contents of this, the fourth biennial volume in this series, are brought up-to-date both by the addition of new topics and by the revision of earlier-written articles. The subtitle, *A Description of Organized Activities in Social Work and in Related Fields* gives a correct idea of the contents of a book which "is less a year book than a concise encyclopedia, periodically revised." Chief among the new articles are those dealing with public welfare and social security. Other new themes are co-ordinating councils, self-help co-operatives, social group work, life insurance adjustment, and trade unionism in social work. The topical articles are supported by total references to 1,028 books and 644 magazine articles. In Part II, which contains a directory of social work agencies, a listing of 1,020 organizations and institutions appears. The book is well indexed. The new editor, Russell H. Kurtz, has carried on well the work so ably inaugurated in the three preceding volumes by Fred S. Hall. A total of 120 persons of national reputation have contributed authoritative articles.

E. S. B.

LEGISLATIVE TRENDS IN PUBLIC RELIEF AND ASSISTANCE. By ROBERT C. LOWE and JOHN L. HOLCOMBE. Washington: Works Progress Administration, 1936, pp. 41.

Based upon an examination of the statutes of the several states, this study on legislative trends is concerned with the following types of relief and assistance legislation: poor relief, emergency unemployment relief, care of dependent and neglected children by agencies and in institutions, aid to dependent children in their own homes, old age assistance, blind assistance, and veteran relief. It shows the legislative changes in these fields since 1929. The increase in state participation in financial responsibility and the tendency to centralize administrative responsibility within a single state agency is stressed.

P. M. B.

THE RISE OF HUMANE INSTITUTIONS. New York State Department of Social Welfare, 1935, pp. 22.

Trends regarding penal systems as shown in the development of New York prisons comprise the contents of this brief summary. Some of the different methodologies and philosophies of treatment, as evidenced by the evolution of architectural designs of prison plants, are presented.

P. M. B.

CHURCH GROUP ACTIVITIES FOR YOUNG MARRIED PEOPLE. By GEORGE GLEASON. Los Angeles: Published by the Author, 1937, pp. 161.

Dr. Gleason is a pioneer in a vital socio-religious field. He has studied 222 groups of married people organized in classes in the Protestant churches of southern California. In analyzing the data that he secured through painstaking investigation he arrives at conclusions which will at once startle and stimulate all thoughtful Protestant leaders, ministers and laymen alike. Dr. Gleason makes unmistakably clear a wide-open field for church activity that lies close to the heart of religion and that bespeaks a new and continued lease of life for Protestant churches. He concludes that "young married people form a ripe and unharvested section of the American church field," that "the satisfaction of belonging to an association of sympathetic friends" is of prime importance, that the church needs to change its emphasis in adult religious education from "non-permanent or periodic interest groupings" to "the promotion of more permanent fellowship groups," that "many churches are shifting the emphasis from the 'preaching service' to the fellowship groups" to good advantage of all concerned. The author makes bold to suggest that "from fellowship groups, integrated in a comprehensive church program, the church of the future may be built." Moreover, he supports this idea with facts and sound logic.

E. S. B.

PROBLEMS OF THE FAMILY. By WILLYSTINE GOODSSELL. New York: Century Co., 1937, pp. x+530.

Miss Goodsell has thoroughly revised her original *Problems of the Family* and has also greatly improved the book. Most of the chapter headings are repeated from the former book. Several however, such as "The Immigrant Family," "The Woman Movement and the Family," and "Married Women and Careers" are omitted and distinctly up-to-date subjects substituted. An entire chapter is devoted to the problem of "Family Allowances" and the birth control problem is courageously presented.

The chapters dealing with husband-wife and parent-child relationships are noteworthy enlargements of the material in the original book. They contain valuable information dealing with success in marriage, causes of failure, education for marriage, sex education, and control of children. The book closes with a sympathetic discussion of experiments such as trial marriage and companionate marriage. Each chapter is enriched with a brief bibliography and "topics for reports."

G. B. M.

THE TENEMENTS OF CHICAGO. By EDITH ABBOTT. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1936, pp. xx+505.

This book is the outgrowth of studies made over a period of twenty-five years by members of the faculty and graduate students in the School of Social Service Administration. The first part of the book is historical in character and sketches the development of tenement house law in Chicago. Then follow various studies of selected districts of the city undertaken at different times, but in many cases brought up-to-date by means of supplementary studies.

Significant chapters deal with housing of dependent families and the eviction of such families during the depression period. Considerable pessimism is shown in respect to the results of the various investigations. It was hoped that they would stimulate housing reform. However, little effort has been made to enforce housing laws, and accordingly thousands of families continue to live in squalid, unsanitary, and dilapidated houses or tenements. The author does not believe that private initiative can cope with the situation but favors a public housing program subsidized with federal funds. G. B. M.

WHO SELECTS AMERICA'S MOVIES? By CARL E. MILLIKEN. New York: Motion Picture Producers and Distributors of America, Inc., 1937, pp. 17.

In the January 1937 issue of the *Journal of the American Association of University Women* there was published an article entitled, "Who Selects America's Movies?" Mr. Milliken attempts to answer this article by showing that "block booking" is not the chief obstacle to the exhibition of better motion pictures. He presents the producers' side of the question and contends that theater managers use the "block booking" argument as an "alibi."

P. M. B.

PLAY STREETS AND THEIR USE FOR RECREATIONAL PROGRAMS. By EDWARD V. NORTON. New York: A. S. Barnes and Company, 1937, pp. 77.

This book offers help to those interested in recreational work for the unorganized groups and where playground facilities are not available. It treats of the Play Street idea not as the most desirable scheme or as a permanent program but rather as a temporary way to meet the problem of no playgrounds. After tracing briefly the history of the Play Street the author presents the program as used in New York in a recent experiment to give "recreational opportunities to children and adults not reached by other agencies." The book outlines a program of activities including athletics, handcrafts, clubs, hobbies, block parties, etc.

P. M. B.

Social Theory

IDEOLOGY AND UTOPIA. By KARL MANNHEIM. Translated by LOUIS WIRTH and EDWARD SHILS. New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1936, pp. xxxi+318.

In this work on the sociology of knowledge Professor Mannheim explains ideologies as systems or complexes of ideas that defend the existing social order and arouse favorable interest in the status quo. He explains utopias as complexes of thought which direct thought and activity toward a new and different social order. His notion of the sociology of knowledge is that of "a purely empirical investigation through description and structural analysis of the ways in which social relationships" influence thought, and thus, a historical-sociological method of research.

Ideologies and particularly utopias are products of wishful thinking. The sociology of knowledge likewise is influenced by previous actual human experience. The author distinguishes between five political ideologies; namely, bureaucratic conservatism, conservative historicism, liberal-democratic bourgeois thought, socialist-communist conceptions, and Fascism. He points out four stages in modern utopian thought, viz., orgiastic, liberal-humanitarian, conservative, and the socialist-utopian. Ideologies and utopias need to be supplemented by a sociology of knowledge which will be objective, analytical, and pragmatic. As Dr. Wirth says in his Preface, "the distinctive contribution of the present volume may turn out to be the explicit recognition that thought, besides being a proper subject matter for logic and psychology, becomes fully comprehensible only if it is viewed sociologically." In other words, to understand thought itself one must know the social soil out of which that thought has developed. Thus, the author makes sociology the final basis of epistemology. In this way a genuine contribution of a theoretical nature is made to empirical research in all fields of knowledge relating to human societies.

E. S. B.

LA SOCIOLOGIE ALLEMANDE CONTEMPORAINE. By RAYMOND ARON. Paris: Librairie Félix Alcan, 1935, pp. 177.

This work treats of contemporary German sociology under three headings: (1) systematic sociology, (2) historical sociology, and (3) the sociology of Max Weber. The author points out that German authors have a habit of distinguishing the sociologies of the nine-

teenth and twentieth centuries as "*sociologie encyclopédique*," and as "*sociologie analytique*," respectively. Thus, until the beginning of this century Germany had scarcely any sociology of her own. After a rather cursory treatment of the various German sociologists, the author arrives at Max Weber, whom he considers the greatest of German sociologists, in that he has created the idea of "comprehensive sociology" or, in other words, the science of both syntheses and generalities. In conclusion the author points out three distinctive characteristics in German sociology: (1) the philosophical tendencies, (2) the logical or rationalistic tendencies, and (3) statistical autoanalysis.

R. H. H.

THE CRAVING FOR SUPERIORITY. By RAYMOND DODGE and EUGEN KAHN. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1931, pp. 69.

Two Yale university professors present an analytical and scientific study of a universal problem in their book, *The Craving for Superiority*. Expressing a synthesis of two points of view, psychological and psychopathological, the authors make this work a helpful one in understanding human nature.

Social environment, and how it affects personalities of individuals and their struggle for superiority, is discussed in terms which can be understood by laymen as well as specialists. An interesting distinction is made in the discussion of superiority and inferiority concepts, by such demarcations as: matter-of-fact superiority and inferiority, the feeling of superiority and inferiority, and the craving for superiority and inferiority.

COMTE, THE FOUNDER OF SOCIOLOGY. By F. S. MARVIN. New York: John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 1937, pp. 216.

In a sympathetic treatment, Comte is presented here in the light of the times in which his youth was spent, of his temperament, and of his immediate associates, and is shown to be a social philosopher of no mean order. The roles of Montesquieu, Condorcet, and St. Simon are basic to an understanding of Comte. Some of the "master-thoughts" of Comte are analyzed, such as his emphasis on the growth of mind, on the positive or "certain" approach to social life, on the need for synthesis, on the dominating significance of humanity, and on the ideal of peace. In science, synthesis, humanity, and faith is found the essence of Comte's social philosophy in this refreshing treatise.

E. S. B.

THE SOCIAL FUNCTION OF EDUCATION. By ROBERT M. BEAR. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1937, pp. xiv+434.

This book has been especially designed as a text and is well adapted for that purpose because of its topical arrangement and the lists of questions and problems at the conclusion of each chapter. The author presents an analysis of the meaning and need for education and its relation to the growth of personality. He points out that the real goal of education is the development of effective personality which can only be achieved when individuals function as a part of the fundamental social institutions. A study of the various fields of institutional life (martial, recreational, religious, economic, and civic) gives a clear historical picture and illustrates the possibilities of co-operation between the school and these institutions in the education of the child. Modern educators need to recognize the fact that social changes are continually taking place and that progressive education must be conscious of their implications. Dr. Bear has made frequent use of illustrative material throughout his book which makes it intensely interesting and practical for the student interested in the social phase of education.

H. H. P.

INDIAN THOUGHT AND ITS DEVELOPMENT. By ALBERT SWEITZER. New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1936, pp. xii+272.

In these pages the brilliant German scholar compares Indian thought with its emphasis on "world and life negation" with European and American thought, with its center of interest in "world and life affirmation." The volume is a succinct history of Indian religious thought. Careful attention is given to an evolutionary sequence that begins in the Upanishads and runs through the Samkhya doctrine, Jainism, Buddha's teachings, later Buddhism, later Brahmanic doctrines, Bhakti mysticism, the Bhagavad-Gita, to modern Indian thought as expressed in the writings of Ray, Tagore, Gandhi, and Ghose. Through it all run the cord of mysticism and an increasing cognizance of the philosophy of "world and life affirmation" of the West. The author's own philosophical theory crops out finally in his references to an "ethical mysticism."

The poor human spirit, by leaving behind its existence for itself alone, in the devotion of service to other life, experiences union with the World-Spirit (God), and thereby becomes enriched and finds peace.

While not up to the standard perhaps of *Out of My Life and Thought*, the volume is a noteworthy contribution to an understanding and appreciation of Indian thought.

E. S. B.

Culture and People

OUT OF AFRICA. By EMORY ROSS. New York: Friendship Press, 1936, pp. viii+216.

The author, being a man of wide and broad-minded missionary experience in Africa, has described the cutting up of the land and the dividing of the 140 million peoples of Africa by European nations, chiefly in the eighties but extending down to Italy's domination of Ethiopia in 1936. The author suggests that the Christian nations of Europe actually become Christian in their treatment of Africa and disclaim perpetual dominion over Africa. After he gives a chapter to "Young Africa to School," he devotes the concluding two chapters to missionary work in Africa and to "the African church of tomorrow." He hopes that "the gospel of Christ may be so presented to Africa as to enable it to become, for the first time, a complete way of life for a whole people."

A PREFACE TO RACIAL UNDERSTANDING. By CHARLES S. JOHNSON. New York: Friendship Press, 1936, pp. ix+206.

In simple, straight-forward language, the author describes the salient points in the history of the Negro in the United States. The Negro was brought to the colonies not as a slave but as an indentured servant and continued as such for a number of decades before he passed into the state of slavery. With the coming of freedom the Negro's status was improved, but he has not yet attained in the South more than a fraction of the opportunities open to white people. As far as hospital service goes, for example, he is not one tenth as well off. In educational opportunities he is about one third as fortunate. On the other hand, the Negro is making noteworthy contributions in labor, music, folklore, humor, religion, literature and art, and in leadership. Many organizations that are assisting in the development of racial understanding are noteworthy. "Mutuality of obligations," and other high principles are emphasized.

E. S. B.

NORWEGIAN-AMERICAN STUDIES AND RECORDS, Volume IX. Northfield, Minn.: Norwegian-American Historical Association, 1936, pp. x+131.

The volume contains four historical essays, four edited documents, and an extensive bibliography of recent publications relating to Norwegian-American history. Among the subjects are immigration and Puritanism, early settlements by pioneer Norwegians in Iowa, Illinois, and Minnesota, the Missouri flood of 1881, and several letters by Marcus Thrane. These are all entertaining and instructive.

J. E. N.

CO-OPERATION AND COMPETITION AMONG PRIMITIVE PEOPLES. Edited by MARGARET MEAD. New York and London: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., pp. xii+531.

Under the competent editorial guidance of Dr. Margaret Mead, this book presents a series of research materials designed to show the possibility of using ethnological findings in the planning of further research and inquiry into the habits of man as affected by competition and co-operation. The range of literature which the editor found significant for illumination of the project includes thirteen studies of the cultures of such diversified peoples as the Arapesh, Eskimo, Ojibwa, Ifugao, Kwakiutl, and others. Several of the studies have been made by Dr. Mead herself, the others by field workers and research students. These culture studies have demonstrated the possibilities of classifying the cultures as co-operative, competitive, and individualistic in terms of the following criteria:

(a) What are the principal ends to which an individual devotes his time? (b) What are the principal ends to which group activities are directed? (c) What are the proportions of time and energy devoted by individuals and by groups to ends which are (1) shared, (2) competitive, (3) individual?

However, Dr. Mead points out that no society was found which was exclusively competitive or exclusively co-operative, since both competitive and co-operative habits must coexist within a society. Moreover, no positive correlation was found between subsistence level and major emphasis of co-operation or competition. Similarly, no correlation was ascertained between major emphases and the food-gathering, hunting, agricultural, and pastoral cultures, nor did the same culture areas show any. Interesting are the three ways of preventing competition in a society, i.e., by a social system which interposes rank between individuals who might become competitors; by a social system which converts its goal from an individual end to a group end; and by displacing the emphasis from a sphere in which competition is inherent to that of another.

M. J. V.

MOSLEM WOMEN ENTER A NEW WORLD. By RUTH F. WOODSMALL. New York: Round Table Press, Inc., 1936, pp. 432.

In this publication by the American University of Beirut (Social Science Series), the author marshals a wealth of facts in support of the changing status of Moslem women. This book is the result of Miss Woodsmall's experiences while a Y.W.C.A. secretary in Turkey and Syria and as a traveler in other Moslem countries. The frontiers of social change for Moslem women are found in such matters as lifting the veil, being released from purdah, a later marriage

age, increasing social life, prohibition of polygamy, and increasing divorce. The author covers the situation in Turkey, Syria, Palestine, Egypt, Trans-Jordan, Iran, Iraq, and India. Her extensive data reveal an educational awakening of women, a new economic role for women, better health standards, and a general widening of woman's sphere. Turkey leads the way in many of these particulars. Egypt follows. Palestine and India lag greatly. Of course there is much conservatism in all these countries, yet all disclose changes of a revolutionary sort. Islam in the main is holding out against change, hence Islam will lose status sooner or later, for cultural evolution seems inevitable. Miss Woodsmall possesses the keen eye of the scientific observer, an analytical mind, and a pleasing style. E. S. B.

MEXICO: A REVOLUTION BY EDUCATION. By GEORGE I. SANCHEZ. New York: The Viking Press, 1936, pp. xvi+211.

After presenting as historical and social background the essential data concerning Mexico and Mexicans and the experience with colonial schools, the author discusses the present school movement. He is fully aware of its experimental nature, but sympathetically points out problems of reconstruction in the educational system in order to bring about a "redemption" of Mexico that is well-nigh revolutionary. The educational program is credited with socialistic purposes. Among the major problems are the Indian population with its need for special Indian schools, and the need for social balance among church, state, and education. For those who are watching Mexico in these days of rapid change, this book, which deals with educational processes of major importance, will be decidedly useful.

J. E. N.

THE UNTOUCHABLE CLASSES OF MAHARASHTRA. By M. G. BHAGAT, Bombay: The Karnatak Printing Press, 1935, pp. 45.

The complexity of the problem of untouchability is clearly shown by this study of 542 families of untouchables living in Marathi-speaking districts of the Bombay Presidency. Findings in regard to infant mortality, literacy, earnings, indebtedness, marriage expenditure, facilities for education, and provisions for water reveal the urgent need for the social and economic uplift of these classes. Based on what untouchables themselves suggest and methods advocated by outstanding reformers, the writer makes excellent recommendations. The main objectives are to secure "full civic rights for Untouchables" and "to accustom the members of other sections to a freer intercourse with these people."

E. N. B.

THE EJIDO, MEXICO'S WAY OUT. By EYLER N. SIMPSON.
Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1937,
pp. xxi+849.

In the "Foreword," Ramon Beteta pays tribute to the author's eight years of study and of learning about Mexico. He pays high tribute to the way in which the author has compiled and cross-referenced the various agrarian laws. The ejido and the failures that it has experienced under recent agrarian reform are vividly portrayed. At times the author covers so much more than the ejido that the book might have been given a wider title if the author had not wished to make the ejido "the way out" for Mexico. The descriptions of the ejido in selected villages are unusually valuable.

The author shows up the weaknesses of Mexican politics and life so thoroughly that one wonders how the new ejidos for Mexico that he projects can actually be developed. He takes cognizance of the educational development and reforms that will be required but does not seem to allow sufficiently for that intensive modification of Mexican psychology which will be necessary if Mexico is to follow through according to the new ejido plan.

It is the socialization of Mexico's lands and waters for which the author asks. He advocates the functional doctrine that

the right to property shall be a right to effective use and that his right shall endure only so long as the individual uses to which properties are put are not in conflict with the collective interests of society.

He urges "effective use" rather than "mere possession," and use of land "for the good of the social entity rather than for individual profit."

The author sees Mexico becoming a part of the interdependent world and would steer it via the collective ejido between the evils of urbanism and of rural isolation. He sees Mexico using machines but not becoming mechanized. He beholds the *ejidatario* having a spirit of co-operation and collectivism and yet individual freedom. At any rate Mexican leaders are challenged by this book as they have never before been challenged.

E. S. B.

JEWS AND ARABS IN PALESTINE. Edited by ENZO SERENI and R. E. ASBERY. New York: Hechalutz Press, 1936, pp. 315.

The point of view is that of organized Jewish labor in Palestine. A dozen writers, in addition to the editors, contribute as many chapters to a discussion of life and politics in Palestine. While points of views do not always coincide and while there is some overlapping of data, the book reveals intellectual acumen and a powerful urge to

secure control in Palestine, the ancestral home of the Hebrews. Great Britain receives a lacing for its failure to push the Jewish cause. The general plan is to increase Jewish immigration at a rapid rate so that the Jews will come as soon as possible into a majority control. The weakness in the argument is found in the desire for haste. To increase Jewish immigration rapidly will unite all Arabs against the Jews, while a slow infiltration will give the Jews their hearts' desire and at the same time not unduly arouse hatred of them. E. S. B.

THE NEGRO LABOR UNIONIST OF NEW YORK. By CHARLES LIONEL FRANKLIN. New York: Columbia University Press, 1936, pp. 415.

This study of the Negro Labor Unionist, made as a result of interest aroused by the Harlem riot of March 1935, undertakes to survey the relationship existing between organized labor and Negro workers, with special reference to New York City. Inquiries have been made regarding the industrial and occupational background of Negroes belonging to the trade unions, the extent of their membership and activities in unions, and the experiences of the New York unions with their Negro members.

"Trade unions have been a major factor in preventing some competent Negro workers from working at their trades," and thus many Negroes have tended to drift into the semiskilled classes. Color prejudice and fear have continued to militate against them. During the period of the N.R.A., Negro workers found themselves somewhat more fortunate, having been invited and found willing to join the union ranks in several of the skilled trades. However, investigation showed that many of the Negro unionists failed to participate in membership meetings because of (1) shyness and timidity in the new situation, (2) antagonism of the whites, (3) lack of satisfaction with benefits, and (4) lack of time because of outside duties.

Negro workers in New York city are generally not much better off than in other portions of the United States. Some are allowed equality with the whites, some are excluded entirely from union membership, while some are organized into auxiliary unions, taking their orders from parent white unions. The study concludes with the observation that where the Negro workers are received into a union upon a parity with the whites, as in the Manhattan locals of the International Ladies Garment Workers' Union, "they come to understand more fully the principles and methods of trade unionism," and hence, co-operation of all proceeds without interference of racial feelings.

M. J. V.

Social Politics

UNDER THE AXE OF FASCISM. By GAETANO SALVEMINI. New York: The Viking Press, 1936, pp. xiv+402.

Those who wish to look behind the stage settings of the press and tear off the veil of propaganda concerning Fascism in Italy, would do well to read this book thoroughly. Political phrases such as the "corporate state," "Fascist syndicalism," et cetera, are shown to be myths in so far as Italy is concerned. Granting what is good in the achievements of Fascism under Mussolini, the author exposes errors and falsifications in such claims. The entire program of Fascism is reviewed in considerable detail, substantiated by documentation from Fascist sources. All in all, whether the subject be labor, housing, unemployment, social insurance, or what not, the reports of Fascist achievement cannot bear close inspection. Mussolini is shown to be the supreme chieftan of an oligarchy. The big capitalists profit most from such oligarchy, and are rescued by the state at the expense of the taxpayer, but in theory at least, the capitalists must submit to the supervision of the state, i.e., of the high civil servant who is its living embodiment. However, according to the author, the capitalists proper would not be able to survive in Italy if the masses of the middle, lower middle, and working classes were not kept in obedience by three bureaucracies: the officers of the regular army, the civil service, and the officials of the Fascist party. In brief, Italian Fascism seems to be a system for the protection of the favored upper classes, but Mussolini warily and opportunistically plays business man and high civil servant against each other, sacrificing one or the other as need be, but never sacrificing the military chiefs without whose aid he himself could not exist. Those predisposed to favor Fascism may criticize the author as unduly biased, but the study seems to be based on unquestionable sources and is convincing. Questions of a theoretical nature are handled with cool judgment and receive fair consideration in the analysis of Fascist policies throughout the book. The world has learned about Italian Fascism just what the Fascist government has wanted it to know, and Salvemini's book now challenges such current opinion and offers instead facts that are presumably uncensored and real. J. E. N.

CHANGING MAN: The Education System of the U.S.S.R. By BEATRICE KING. New York: The Viking Press, 1937, pp. 319.

This book is, for its size, a remarkably complete survey of the educational program in Russia today. After a brief history of edu-

cation under the old regime, there are set forth the principles of communist education which are conditioned by the economic system prevailing in Russia. The author goes on to show what the U. S. S. R. is doing to provide for creative self-expression, questions of discipline, sex instruction, et cetera. Not only does the author outline the curricula and other salient features of the education program from childhood on through higher education and adult education, but she enlivens the subject by frequent references to the attitudes and qualifications of students, instructors, and others concerned. It is obvious that the Soviet government has been wide awake in its use of education to facilitate its vast program of reconstruction. Miss King's book is deservedly acclaimed as trustworthy, valuable, and important.

J. E. N.

MY BATTLE. By ADOLF HITLER. Abridged and translated by E. T. S. Dugdale. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1937, pp. viii+297.

The reading of this book reveals a series of deep-seated prejudices and hatreds. They seem to be tied up in one bundle and bear a close relation to one another. First and foremost is Hitler's hatred of the Jew. Second comes his dislike of Marxianism, which he identifies with Jews. Likewise he hates the present Russian government. Third is his scorn for the parliamentary form of government, social democracy, and the like. Fourth are his reactions against the ignominy which followed the surrender of "Germans" at home to Allies, thus selling out the Germans at the front to the enemy. Fifth, he is against a world view. Sixth, he is opposed to the dead weight of numbers. On the positive side he possesses strong feelings in behalf (1) of the Aryans and particularly of Germans, (2) of nationalism, (3) of fighting and the force of arms, (4) of a strong man theory, and (5) of emotional action. "Fervidness" is the best term with which to express these positive traits. Prejudices and fervidness sum up this autobiography.

CONFLICTS IN NATURALIZATION DECISIONS. New York: National Council on Naturalization and Citizenship, 1936, pp. 25.

Inconsistencies in naturalization decisions, as shown in the records of petitions denied, are the bases of this study. Some of the variable elements involved in the major requirements for naturalization are indicated and cases are cited illustrating the different ways in which these variabilities have been interpreted by the courts. P. M. B.

ZONING. By EDWARD M. BASSETT. New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1936, pp. 275.

In this book the evolution and constitutionality of zoning are traced and the practical application of zoning detailed. The author says that constitutional amendments for zoning should not be necessary and that the police power should be sufficient to allow for the extension of zoning regulations. Zoning is largely a product of municipal activity. In California, county zoning ordinances have been enacted. The field of regulation usually covers height, area, and use of buildings, use of land, and density of population.

The larger portion of the book is devoted to the development of zoning and housing laws in New York City, but the discussion is embellished with references to activities elsewhere and to court decisions from all parts of the country. A bibliography of 15 pages is included as well as an index of cases covering the entire field of zoning.

G. B. M.

WILLIAM G. BROWNLOW. Fighting Parson of the Southern Highlands. By E. MERTON COULTER. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1937, pp. xiv+432.

This is a biography of one of the leading figures in American history, familiarly known as Parson Brownlow. He was circuit rider, writer, editor, and politician, active in religion, war, politics, and journalism from the time of John Quincy Adams through the inauguration of Rutherford B. Hayes. He fought the Baptists, Presbyterians, the devil, the Democrats, and the Confederates. Throughout his stormy career, he was as much hated and reviled by some as he was followed and admired by others. He was one of the outstanding personalities of his day and so active in public affairs that the story of his life necessarily touches upon many events of historic importance.

J. E. N.

STATISTIQUES DU COMMERCE INTERNATIONAL, 1935. League of Nations, Geneva, 1936. New York: Columbia University Press, pp. 370.

A statistical report of imports and exports of sixty-six countries. The data for each country are classified by commodities, their relative importance being shown in the monetary and weight standards characteristic of each country. Comparisons may be made for several years for similar data.

J. E. N.

Industrial Relations

OCCUPATIONAL MOBILITY IN AN AMERICAN COMMUNITY. By PERCY E. DAVIDSON and H. DEWEY ANDERSON. Stanford University: Stanford University Press, 1937, pp. vi +203.

A sampling of 1242 persons, or about seven per cent of the 17,745 males gainfully employed in San Jose, California, was studied in order to determine "the movement of workers on the several levels of labor." The sample is fairly adequate. Six levels of labor are considered, namely, unskilled, semiskilled, skilled, clerks, proprietors, and professional persons. The findings show that the mean number of occupations per person was 3.6, that only one fourth of the sons of professional men entered professional occupations, that the general tendency is "for more sons to be located on their fathers' levels than on any other" (ranging from 42 per cent for skilled workers to 23 per cent for the clerks), that the percentage of sons employed on the same level or an adjacent level extends from 60 per cent to 73 per cent, that chance "has much to do with 'landing' the first job," that there is "an immense amount of random, directionless occupational movement on all levels," that the mean length of the duration of time in an occupation for workers over twenty is six years, that a high correlation exists between schooling and occupational status, and that the nature of the early job secured during the "floundering period" of youth is "prophetic of the subsequent careers of the respondents." Other studies are needed, especially for the purpose of drawing social-psychological conclusions concerning occupational mobility. As a pathfinder investigation this inquiry is highly commendable.

E. S. B.

COMPENSATING INDUSTRIAL EFFORT. By Z. CLARK DICKINSON. New York: The Ronald Press Company, 1937, pp. xii +479.

Professor Dickinson in this book carries on the inquiry made in his older work *Economic Motives*. The problem of the incentives which drive men on to work is noted as being broader than either money rewards or physical production, and according to the author, has application in three aspects. These are (1) the improvement of labor management from the standpoint of proficiency in production or other operations, (2) the promotion of the well-being of the human factors, and (3) making further headway in the pure sciences concerned. The book as far as the field of inquiry is concerned deals with

human nature in work, wage elements and their influences, and wages and other incentives.

Part I which deals with human nature in work discusses rather broadly both old and new psychological materials on the subjects of individual differences in human capacities and interests and the mechanistic drives inherent in human nature. Parts II and III undertake to analyze the problem of wages from several points of view, namely, as it affects the employer, the employee, and the public. Wage policies of trade unions, profit sharing, and collectivistic methods of dealing with economic incentives are discussed with illuminating profit. The problem of determining the relationship of the worker to his work and wages is at best one beset with many ramifications, but Professor Dickinson has in his last chapter offered a truly valuable outline which clarifies this complexity to a considerable extent. Wages, hours, and working conditions are of course primal categories but three other important considerations are listed as supplementing these, the worker's personal traits; his social reactions to the community, to his fellow workers, and bosses; and his workshop life. *Status*, mentioned incidentally, should be more thoroughly emphasized as playing the most important role in the whole problem.

M. J. V.

BIG BUSINESS: ITS GROWTH AND ITS PLACE. Prepared under the Auspices of the Corporation Survey Committee of the Twentieth Century Fund, Inc. ALFRED L. BERNHEIM, Editor. New York: Twentieth Century Fund, Inc., 1937, pp. xviii+102.

The object of this little volume, the first of a series, has been to put "big business" in its correct place against the whole background of American economic life. There are made available factual data regarding the growth and extent of incorporations, and the degree of concentration of wage earners in eighty-four manufacturing industries of corporate nature. Remarkable contrasts or paradoxes are drawn in the conclusion. More than two fifths of the entire business activity in the United States is not in corporate hands. However, fifty-seven per cent of our economic life is carried on by corporations, and their concentration of power is shown by the circumstances that 594 corporations out of 504,080 that existed in the United States in 1933 own more than half of the assets of all corporations put together. Although there are plenty of grounds for the prevalent fear of corporate control, the authors point out that much misapprehension exists concerning the actual role of "big business" in American economic life.

J. E. N.

Social Drama and Fiction

STAGE DOOR. A Play in Three Acts. By EDNA FERBER and GEORGE S. KAUFMAN. New York: Doubleday, Doran and Company, 1936, pp. ix+230.

Read or seen by a student of sociology, *Stage Door* becomes a really fine study of the folkways and mores of a group of girls who would be actresses, either of the stage or preferably, from the economic point of view, of the movies. The skilled authors, who already have been responsible for such successes as *The Royal Family* and *Dinner at Eight*, know their folks of the theater and write with assurance. They have laid the scene of *Stage Door* in a boarding-home for girls, presided over by an old-time actress trying her best to keep on the straight road of gentility. The girls who live in her establishment are all struggling to get a place in the theater, some with real talent and ambition, some with an eye on the tinsel success that may bring with it what the world knows as glamor.

One of these girls, Terry Randall, stage-struck and possessed with a vital love of the theater for its own sake, is offered a chance to break into the movies. She refuses it, and in the end wins a chance to take a leading stage role, thereby gaining a husband at the same time. She has, according to the playwrights, what it takes to make a great star of the stage. Through the portrayal of the character of her roommate, Jean Maitland, who becomes the petted and picturesque star of Hollywood, is shown the idea that it doesn't take much outside of a pretty face and publicity to create a star of the screen. Much is made of the tawdriness of Hollywood in one scene of the play.

There are any number of incidents, some important and others trivial, which fill in the course of events during the two-year time period which the play covers. For instance, there is the story of the playwright, Keith Burgess, who utilizes his talent for dramatic writings to uplift the masses while he is poor and unknown. But Hollywood finally draws him and, with the first flushes of success dawning upon him, he proceeds to forget the masses and their cause. Then there is the story of Louise, who finally retires from the weary round of visiting theatrical employment agencies to marry a man who takes her to a smugly complacent Middle Western suburb. Here

life impounds her, and she heeds once again the call of the stage. As the heroine, Terry Randall, says of her beloved theater, it "beats me and starves me and forsakes me, but I love it," so, according to the authors, does the stage call those who are really fitted.

M. J. V.

YANG AND YIN. By ALICE T. HOBART. Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill Company, 1936, pp. 366.

In this novel the struggles of an American doctor in China against the customs and traditions of an age-old people are described with convincing effects. The reader perceives how difficult it is for persons early conditioned in certain beliefs and surrounded by fitting associations to break away permanently and to adopt new ideas. Old ideas are tenacious because of their setting in deep-seated and organized feelings and sentiments. The new are difficult to accept and maintain because of a lack of accompaniment in sentiment. However, individual Chinese do make the transition, and large numbers are undergoing a disorganization that is resulting in a Chinese renaissance of far-reaching magnitude. In China today the old and clinging clan duty is actually being merged into a new national duty. Many Americans in China are seen to think first of business; many Chinese, to think first of relationship. American missions are presented as supported by American business and yet despised by that same institution, because business seeks profits primarily, while its ideal of service is viewed merely a means. The recent World War is interpreted by the Chinese as a war between Christian brothers engaged in killing one another, each calling at the same time upon the same Christian God to help in the killing! In a larger way the West and East are seen as complementary, as Yang and Yin, as impulse and serenity, as adventure and quietude, as interference with the natural order and acceptance of it.

A minor theme appears in the love story of the doctor and his wife, complementary one to the other, and yet drifting apart because of the devotion of one to his profession and of the other to her children. But one fails to achieve his research goals and the other loses two of her children in death. Then they grope back into a complementary unity.

Mrs. Hobart draws the lines of her story with literary finesse, dignified realism, and deep philosophic understanding of human longings and defeats.

E. S. B.

Social Photoplays

Cinema Progress inaugurated its second year in March, 1937. It is published by the Cinema Appreciation League and is edited by Dr. Boris V. Morkovin, chairman of the Department of Cinematography of The University of Southern California. The thirty-two pages of each bimonthly issue are devoted to short, readable articles and statements relating to new developments in the production and understanding of motion pictures.

The Good Earth is outstanding because of its semi-epic nature. It tells a part of the story of a people. Old China, rural China of the past and also to a degree of the present, is vividly presented. Moreover this interpretation, for the most part, is decidedly favorable to the phases of China which it depicts. Unlike many samples of Chinese life that are often shown in motion pictures which build a stereotype around a villain, here is a screen delineation that reveals old and rural China without telling the worst and without creating fear and hatred. Of course the observer must remember that there is today another China, one that is new, progressive, and elevated. He must keep *The Good Earth* to one half of the canvas and devote the other half to the New China.

Unusual skill and good judgment have been shown in indirectly suggesting rather than portraying tragedy, murder, and cunning. Would that all photoplays used the principles of indirect suggestion so artfully. The impersonation of O-lan is splendidly done, for you feel the great strength and sheer courage that lie behind the stolid face of her who had once been a slave girl. The acting of Muni in the part of Wang Lung rises to heights but at times deserts its Chinese role. The revolution, the famine, the locusts' plague are spectacular, powerful, but occasionally "stagey."

In *The Good Earth* you perceive the devotion of the Chinese peasant farmer to the soil, the unequal struggle against pestilence and famine, the ways in which the struggle against nature promotes superstitions and a reliance upon the supernatural, the subservience of youths to their elders, the subordinate and belittling role allotted to the uneducated rural woman, and the innate sturdiness and endurance of the Chinese race. While Mrs. Buck's book emphasized human beings and the interplay between them, the motion picture shifts the center of attention to events, dramatic events. E. S. B.

The Devil is a Sissy is a study of human personalities—delineated by a series of contrasts and comparisons of the environmental and behavior patterns of the characters. The story is woven around the lives of three boys, who as individuals respond to their experiences as a reflector of the attitudes and ideals of their respective homes. The one lad, played by Mickey Rooney, whose father has been electrocuted, is one of the leaders of a typical city gang. Between him and his pal, Jackie Cooper, one may see a definite bond of loyalty; they speak the same language and share mutual problems. Jackie takes to the gang because of the rough and inhuman treatment given to him by his father, a blustering egotistical man who is totally unaware of the needs of understanding between him and his son. The third boy, played by Freddie Bartholomew, who has known only the cultural life with his divorced mother, comes to this tenement district to live with his father. He attempts to gain status with the gang; finally succeeds after being encouraged by his father, who is aware that Freddie needs these experiences for an integrated personality. The experiences of the gang lead them to Juvenile Hall and there they are told the easy way is the way of the Devil—that real courage requires an appreciation of the values of others. The production is marked by its finesse, its clear-cut examples of individual differences, the effect of understanding upon a personality—a pictorial theme of socialization.

E. M. S.

Lost Horizon may not appeal because of its fantasy. It may disappoint because of its failure to reveal much of the true life and customs of Tibet. It may repel because of its grandioseness. And yet it possesses a peculiar merit in addition to its superb photography, to the delightful vein of humor which repeatedly bursts forth, to the character make-up in the case of the High Lama, and in addition to its mystery of plot. It strikes home because it tears off the masks from a world of avarice. It almost convinces with its delineation of a life where strife and the need for security are conquered. Its Utopia, however, is one of ease and simplicity, lacking in some of the qualities that make a well-rounded, constructive society. It depicts the carry-over of habits from one world of activity to another, the relentlessness of a realistic, rebellious soul, the inner, deeper longing of human nature for a life that rises above the sordid. Two worlds are seen, one full of bustle and struggle; the other serene and peaceful. The chasm is so great that what stands for truth in one is interpreted as buncombe in the other, and vice versa.

E. S. B.

Rembrandt is a photoplay of two major dimensions. In one direction it reveals some of the ways in which the personality of an artist differs so widely from the world of affairs about him that he seems "queer," an object of mirth, a thing apart. In the other direction the motion picture discloses interesting customs or culture traits of the Hollander of the seventeenth century.

Boyhood and early maturity are omitted from the photoplay. At the outset the observer is introduced to a developed and recognized artist. At times you forget Rembrandt the painter and find yourself watching the acting of a living motion picture star. You scarcely see Rembrandt as a famous master of the brush, and yet only a few near-Rembrandts could have been introduced into certain scenes in a way to bring out significant phases of artistic genius.

The scarcity of authentic data about the life of the Dutch painter, of course, makes difficult the development of a plot. Moreover, a play that presents a biography can do little more than offer a series of well-selected incidents. In this picture, an other-worldly, jovial Rembrandt is revealed. His quick eye for recognizing a worthy subject for his canvas is demonstrated. His sharp penetration of sham and his courageous fidelity to truth, even though he thereby tore off human masks and disclosed shallow souls, is skillfully presented. His ability to quote Biblical passages effectively reaches a fitting climax when near the end of his days, after taking part in the superficial pleasures of the oncoming generation he soliloquizes in the words of King Solomon, "Vanity of vanities, all is vanity."

In depicting Dutch customs of three centuries ago the camera shots are well taken, and measure up to the excellent light and shadow effects obtained in revealing the personality of the artist. However, many of the scenes of Dutch life fall flat because they unwittingly reveal manufactured sets. Often one perceives the make-believe of the studio rather than the actualities of seventeenth century Holland. All in all, the photoplay pulls out of the past and makes interesting little-known phases of the life of a fascinating wielder of a brush which made canvasses speak and connoisseurs of art express high praise.

E. S. B.